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Title of Thesis – Titre de la thèse

Sport, Patriarchy and Capitalism: A Socialist Feminist Analysis

Degree for which thesis was presented
Grade pour lequel cette thèse fut présentée
Ph D

Year this degree conferred
Année d'obtention de ce grade

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SPORT, PATRIARCHY AND CAPITALISM:

A Socialist Feminist Analysis

BY

CATHY BRAY

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND SPORT STUDIES

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL 1985

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation outlines relationships between capitalist patriarchal society and gender differentiation in Canadian sport, utilizing socialist feminist theory. Four aspects of capitalist patriarchy are discussed: the separation between work and home; the commodification of female labour; the social construction of sexuality and femininity; and the institutionalization of motherhood. These aspects are considered with respect to the similarities between class and gender struggles over sport; the commodification of athletic labour; sport and femininity; and the impact of mothering behaviors on sport participation. The dissertation concludes with speculation on the changes necessary if gender inequality in Canadian sport is to end.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my advisor, Dr. Ann Hall, and the members of my supervisory committee, Dr. Leslie Bella and Dr. Graham Lowe, for their insightful remarks at various stages of my education. Dr. Marilyn Assheton-Smith, Dr. Peter Lindsay, Dr. Ted Wall, and my external examiner Dr. Nancy Theberge contributed meaningfully to my candidacy and defense.

I owe special thanks for assistance over the years to Hart Cantelon, Laura Cambell-Wall, Nigel and Chris Chamberlain, Laurie Clifford, Jennifer Crocker, Michael and Sally Dixon, Sarah Gilroy, Rick Gruneau, Hilary Findlay, Daphne Houquard, Sandi Kirby, Kostas Koskinas and Demetra Koutsouki, Don Macintosh, Laurie Mazurik, Brenda Mergel, Teryl and Faith Rostad, Debra Shogan, Kathy Somerville, Leslie Stewart, Gerry and Fletch Taylor, Aniko Varpalotai and Nancy Wright.

My immediate family: Gordon and Betty Bray, Scott and Caroline Bray, and Linda, Jim and Laurel Gillis, have been constantly supportive. I have learned a great deal about being a good human being from them.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

One of the most important, obvious and widespread changes which has taken place in the western world in the twentieth century is movement of women toward political, economic and social equality with men. Notable amongst the changes which represent this movement are the opening of institutions of higher learning to females, the extension of opportunities in the workplace, and women's suffrage. Another less renowned change in gender relations has been the advancement of women within the sports world. Women in the past did little more than engage in demure games of croquet or walk briskly for exercise. Today some women and girls are involved in virtually all sports. In many sports, males and females participate in nearly equivalent numbers, and in some sports such as synchronized swimming, females predominate. In sports[1], as in other facets of life, the gender disparities have been reduced.

Yet there continue to be many personal troubles and public issues associated with the participation of girls and women in sport. Young girls still have little opportunity and encouragement to play Canada's national game of ice hockey. Male high school intercollegiate athletes outnumber females by a ratio of two to one, and this ratio increases to three to one at the university level. Recreational leagues sponsored by businesses or municipalities for adults are utilized most by men. Each morning our streets fill with male runners, for the most part[2].

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[1] The word "sport" will often be used in a general sense to mean physical activity which is institutionalized, and competitive and which is engaged in by Canadians from all regions. Institutionalized sport is that which is directed by designated leaders of a sports body which has a continuing existence over time - either through formal incorporation or tradition. Characteristics of institutionalized sport include schedules, recording of scores and performances, and championship playoffs and games. Thus, when "sport" is used in its general sense, this term will not refer to leisure time "pick up" games, which are more social than competitive. Competitiveness, which creates an emphasis on winning, is the second salient characteristic of the "sport" which is of concern in this dissertation.

[2] The best summary of evidence of gender inequality in Canadian sport is found in Hall and Richardson (1982). Their data regarding recreational and competitive sport, sport in educational institutions, and sport leadership indicates that women make up approximately twenty percent of sport leadership at the national level, about one-third of the athletes in educational institutions, and closer to forty percent in elite sport. However, as Hall and Richardson indicate, gender inequality varies according to sport, level of competition and region of the country. Further empirical research must be conducted.

These common sense observations prompt the question "Why?" Are women and girls physically lazier than men and boys? Are females less capable of sports performance? Do females have other interests? Do men have more time than women for sports? Are there fewer opportunities for women and girls to engage in sports? What are the reasons for gender differences in Canadian sports participation?

These questions have rarely been answered in a comprehensive, theoretically grounded and scholarly manner (Hall 1980). Studies of women's sport participation have been well delimited, carefully prepared, and descriptive, but as a whole, they have not employed any kind of overall theory of society. There has been little attempt to link findings about gender differentiation in sports participation with the burgeoning understanding of gender differences within the world at large. Students of social life have in recent years described women's underrepresentation in many aspects of the public world (government, education, law and medicine, for example) and their differential rewards where they are represented (eg. low wages in the services occupations). Many of these studies of gender differentiation have used social theory to *explain* their findings from a feminist perspective. But there has been little connection between the theories which these feminists have promoted with regard to the nonsport world, and the findings of scholars interested in gender differentiation in the sports world. Students of women's sport have rarely utilized theory, and feminist theorists have rarely examined sport.

This dissertation is an analysis of sport which uses the insights of socialist feminist theorists and the descriptions provided by social scientists who have studied sport with respect to gender. In answering the question "Why do women participate in sport to a lesser degree than men?", theories have been considered in the light of data, and new analysis has been provided. The processes of reading, thinking and writing have been employed, in an attempt to generalize beyond the descriptive level, and as an exercise in theory building.

There have been attempts to theorize sport which have not taken account of gender. Sociologists and historians operating in the classical tradition defined by Mills (1959, 1960)

have begun to articulate the relationship between sport and social class, ideology, economic production, and Canada's dependent political economy, using the theoretical insights of Marx. What has been recognized is that we live in a capitalist economy which is characterized by private ownership and class inequality, and this economic system has profound effects on sport. But this developing theoretical tradition has rarely examined gender differentiation within sport in Canada, and theorists operating within the tradition have not generally recognized the patriarchal nature of Canadian society in the fact that men as a group are more powerful than women as a group.

Yet, the developing theorization of Canadian sport holds promise for those interested in a full understanding of gender differentiation in sport. This is because in work best exemplified by Gruneau (1983), themes of labour, ideology and inequality are traced through history to present day capitalist society. The focus on labour addresses the dichotomy between work and home which grows as a result of capitalism, and which affects the education and physical education of boys and girls. Boys have been prepared for the "rough and tumble" of work through sports participation. Girls have been encouraged to be passive and nurturant in the home, as preparation for their roles as mothers in a patriarchal society which reserves unpaid domestic labour for women. The preparation of girls for motherhood, and the fact that primary parents are women, affect the differential development of the sexes with respect to sports.

The focus on inequality of these classical theorists interested in sport can easily be expanded to include inequality between the sexes. Because these theorists have concentrated on more than distributive inequality (inequality of access to opportunities), they illustrate ways in which the relational inequality between men and women can be examined. For instance, women participate in professional sport to a lesser extent than men not only because such opportunities are distributed unequally but also because of the relationship, based on unequal power, between women and men.

The discussion of ideology which is apparent in many works within the classical tradition is also very useful to theorists of gender and sport. Much has been said about the association between sport and femininity by physical educators and scholars. The classical tradition can ground their notions about "attitudes" within a more comprehensive understanding of the relationships between ideology and labour. This tradition can reveal that the ideology of femininity, as upheld by the "feminine image" in sport[3], is directly related to the sexual division of labour which helps to perpetuate capitalist, patriarchal society. This link between ideology and labour is not fortuitous for theorists working in the classical tradition, particularly the tradition of Marx. Labour, the conscious mediation of human beings as they relate to nature in order to survive, is the cornerstone of analysis for classical theorists. The placement of labour at the center of analysis is the main reason that this tradition holds the most promise for the understanding of gender differentiation within Canadian sport.

But these broad themes of the classical tradition - labour, inequality, and ideology - must be examined more fully, if a theoretical tradition is to be outlined. As well, though the classical tradition implicitly deals with gender inequality, the explicit analysis of gender has not been prominent in the work of Marx, Mills, or their successors. What is necessary for a theoretically grounded analysis of gender differentiation in Canadian sport is a fully developed feminist theory. The theory which has been utilized in this dissertation is socialist feminist. Before discussing the contents of this dissertation, socialist feminist theory will be explained.

Socialist Feminist Theory

The characteristic which distinguishes feminist from nonfeminist work most clearly is the standpoint which the feminist researcher takes in making her[4] assessments and deductions. Feminists start from the standpoint of women. In answering any questions, feminists view the

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[3]The "feminine" athlete is one who is relatively passive, aesthetic, noncombative, and pretty, such as a figure skater or synchronized swimmer. This image is further discussed in Chapter four.

[4]Pronouns designating the female gender may be substituted with male designates.

world from the perspective which is available to women[5]. This challenges the traditional requirement of scientific "objectivity". The feminist does not agree that there is some disinterested, objective point from which the observer can view social life. For the feminist (and for other social scientists such as Marxists), every observer of the social world brings certain cultural traits to the process of observation. The observer takes the viewpoint of some particular social class, ethnic group, national citizenry and, most important for the feminist, of a particular gender. The feminist researcher must therefore recognize that any position from which she views the world has a specific location in the social world, and must choose the standpoint of women.

Allison Jaggar (1983:356) shows how this conscious choice of a particular standpoint defies the assumptions of positivist science. For positivists, the adequacy of a scientific theory is judged by its objectivity, or lack of bias. Elimination of bias is obtained by viewing the world from a position divorced from the social life under consideration, a position which can be taken by any other disinterested observer. A variety of observers, viewing the social world from this neutral point can compare and verify their findings. This validation is possible, according to positivists, only if scientists are nonevaluative, allowing only data collected by the senses to enter into consideration. "Subjective" values and emotions cannot be allowed.

Yet in taking the standpoint of women, the feminist not only claims that her science is "biased" in the positivist sense, because at its heart are women's interests, but also that certain value judgements are a key component of scientific reasoning. The feminist values gender equality and makes the normative prescription that there should be equality between the sexes. Feminists are against the oppression of women, and their task is to end that oppression. This normative nature of feminism is the second feature which distinguishes a feminist approach. In sum, the purpose of this dissertation is to analyze gender differentiation in Canadian sport by taking the standpoint of women. As feminist scholarship, it will suggest that gender

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[5] The following section has benefitted from a reading of Hall (1985).

inequality in sport should be ended[6].

Feminism is not unitary, however. There are four broad strains of feminist thought, which have been identifed by theorists such as Jaggar (1983). *Liberal feminism* identifies equality of opportunity for women and men as a goal, and suggests that equality can be achieved if everyone struggles for and attains equal rights. Such feminists generally advocate reformist change within the system as a means of creating equality. *Traditional Marxists* are antithetic to liberal feminists in this latter respect, in that they suggest that equality can be achieved only if the capitalist system is overthrown. Marxists suggest that the oppression of women has arisen because of ownership of private property, and that with the end of capitalist property relations, the oppression of women will end. *Radical feminists* disagree strongly with Marxists on this point. They have identified the material basis of patriarchy as belonging not in the relations of production where Marxists have placed them, but in relations between the sexes. Male control of female sexuality is seen by radical feminists as the cause of women's oppression. Finally, *socialist feminists* combine the insights of traditional Marxists, and radical feminists. They suggest that the basis of women's oppression lies in both the relations of production, and in male control of female sexuality. For the socialist feminist, the systems of capitalism and patriarchy, not just capitalism must be revolutionized. Socialist feminism, because it synthesizes the insights into sexuality of radical feminism and perceptions about production of Marxism, is more theoretically comprehensive than these latter two forms of feminism.

In its theoretical form, socialist feminism owes much to Marxism, but also expands upon Marxism. Just as feminism is normative, so too is Marxism. This is the main reason that there is an affinity between the two approaches. Marxists and feminists are united in their belief in the necessity of change within society. Both groups see theory as an important instrument in bringing about a more egalitarian society. Theory is integral to practice because

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[6]Further elaboration on the "standpoint of women" may be found in Hartsock (1983a) and Smith (1979, 1981b).

it can expose the causes of inequality, and because it can help feminists and Marxists to lay the groundwork for and to evaluate forms of practice.

A second characteristic which typifies socialist feminism is its grounding in material reality. Economic realities, specifically productive and reproductive labour, influence cultural forms. Marxist materialism places labour, or conscious, purposive human work, at the center of social thought. Because human beings are conscious, that is, aware of intentionality in their existence, it can be said that their 'natural' behavior is mediated. In other words, human beings conceive of objectives, and plan a course of action which will achieve these objectives. Such planning takes place before and during their action. This behavior, mediated by thought and planning, is called labour, and labour is what makes human beings human. Unlike animals, human beings transform nature through a mediated process of work. If human culture is to be understood, the essence of humanness must be understood; and this can be done only by placing labour in the forefront. Because Marxist materialism[7] places labour, the essential quality of human beings, in the forefront, it is useful as a method of understanding sport as an essentially human, socially constructed pursuit. A consideration of sport and labour shows that in both instances, human beings mediate between themselves and nature. This discussion of the relationship between labour, sport and social life will be taken up further in the next section.

The method of Marxism is also historical. This also recommends it as a useful means of studying culture. Cultural forms are not destroyed with each new generation, but are passed on, century by century, together with the development of the means of production. A consideration of history is also vitally important to an understanding of the relations between the sexes. It is impossible to consider the causes of women's oppression without wondering

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[7]Kuhn and Wolpe (1978:7-8) point out that because Marxist feminist theoretical work is still in its infancy, they have drawn the theoretical boundaries of their work inclusively around the terrain of *materialism*, and have not focussed attention exclusively on *marxist* feminist analysis (1978:8). Although there has been much growth within this body of theory since 1978 (See Eisenstein, 1979; Barrett, 1980; Sargent 1981; Vogel 1983; and Jensen 1985), Marxist feminism has yet to explain some very fundamental issues (such as the relationship between productive and reproductive labour) consistently.

what, in the past, led to this oppression.

A fourth characteristic shared by Marxism and socialist feminism is the assumption that knowledge is negotiated in a social process, in which some meanings dominate, and others must emerge through struggle. Marxists suggest that knowledge, such as scientific knowledge about sport is delimited by certain dominant individuals (the bourgeoisie in Marxist terminology) and that all knowledge reflects the interests of those who are most powerful. For Marxists, the dominant class controls what is accepted as knowledge within capitalist society. Therefore, in order to reveal the myths perpetuated by the dominant class as a way of securing their control of society, the world must be observed from the standpoint of the oppressed classes. Taking the standpoint of the oppressed can demythologize bourgeois notions. This conceptualization of knowledge is shared by socialist feminists who also believe that knowledge reflects only certain interests. But socialist feminists point out that the oppression of women means that the social world must be viewed from the standpoint of women in order to reveal the myths perpetuated by the dominant male gender. This characteristic of socialist feminism recommends it as superior to liberal feminism, which does not recognize its own class bias. In affirming the individual as the operative entity in social life, liberalism de-emphasizes the structural limitation of class oppression. Equality of opportunity for individuals is impossible where equality of condition among classes does not exist.

Socialist feminists differ from Marxists in this assumption that the standpoint of women provides the most adequate position from which to understand reality. For socialist feminists, viewing the world from the position of the oppressed class continues to obscure gender equality. Marxism, though important in revealing class bias, is inadequate because it does not demonstrate the inequality between women and men in capitalist (or presently existing 'socialist') societies. Like radical feminists, socialist feminist start from the standpoint of women, focussing especially on women's sexuality and the associated differences in power between women and men. These differences in power are manifested in and perpetuated by the division of labour. Socialist feminist theorists always start with a consideration of labour,

when attempting to understand the social world.

Labour, Sport and Culture

Scholars influenced by Marxism have taken account of the centrality of labour, inequality and ideology, and their relationship to sport. However, there are recognizable differences amongst Marxist accounts of these relationships. Some scholars stress the determinate relationship between labour and sport. Others object to any rigid one-way association between labour and sport. This latter group emphasizes the potential for conditions within sports to change independently of changes in the organization of labour. These debates are not specific to studies of sport, but are associated with consideration of other cultural forms such as art, literature and the media[1].

The two debating groups have been called the 'structuralists' (those who emphasize structural determination), and the 'culturalists' (those who emphasize the transformative capabilities of sport). Structuralist accounts of culture have been stimulated by the work of Louis Althusser (1971) who has characterized sport as one of the Ideological State Apparatuses. For structuralists, the purpose of sport is to reproduce the relations of economic production - the exploitation of labour by capitalists. Sport reproduces these relations by training athletes in the attitudes and abilities which are necessary for future work in the capitalist system - some are taught to accept subordination and take orders; others with

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[1] As Raymond Williams (1976) has suggested, culture is one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language. The word has been used in a variety of ways through history, and its modern usage remains complex. Williams (1980:13) has identified two general senses of the term, as employed by students of culture presently:
i) the anthropological and sociological senses of culture as a distinct "whole way of life" within which, now, a distinctive signifying system' is seen as not only essential, but as essentially involved in *all* forms of social activity, and
ii) the more specialized, if also more common sense of culture as artistic, intellectual activites, though these, because of the emphasis on a general signifying system, are much more broadly defined, to include not only the traditional arts and forms of intellectual production, but also the 'signifying practices' from language through the arts and philosophy to journalism, fashion and advertising - which now constitute this complex and necessarily extended field (Williams 1980:13). In this dissertation, "culture" will be employed in the second sense.

'leadership ability' are trained to manage. This training takes place whether athletes and coaches are aware of it or not, because sport is structured so that this must occur. Because of the heavy emphasis on the replication of ideologies over time, this approach to the study of culture has been called 'Reproduction Theory'.

'Culturalist' approaches to sport study (and the study of other cultural forms) have been influenced by the work of Edward Thompson (1963) and Antonio Gramsci (1971). In contradistinction to the base/superstructure metaphor which suggests that the economic base of society determines the cultural and ideological superstructure, culturalists have suggested that there is really no division between culture and labour, or between base and superstructure, for all are material. For culturalists, "the symbolizing process is an important moment in the labour process" (Whitaker 1982:47), because meanings are material. This notion of the materiality of culture is emphasized in a phrase of Williams (1977):

> . . . we are concerned with meanings and values as they are actually lived and felt . . . We are talking about characteristic elements of consciousness and relationships (1977:132).

The sense of culture as a total lived experience is associated with the theory of hegemony advanced by Antonio Gramsci (1971). Hegemony is a process whereby a dominant class or class fraction exercises leadership and control both directly because of their ownership of the means of production and (more importantly), indirectly and informally, by permeating all institutions of society including schools, political groups and cultural institutions such as sport. Hegemonic control arises because subordinate groups consent to the rule of the dominant class. This consent is the result of the translation of the ideology or world view[9] into common sense. In other words, abstract values permeate everyday existence, and people live with ideological

---

[9] "Ideology" is used here to mean "the characteristic *world view or general perspective* of a class or other social group, which will include formal or conscious beliefs but also less conscious, less formulated attitudes, habits and feelings, or even unconscious assumptions, bearings and commitments". This definition differs from a second use of the word, to mean "the *formal and conscious beliefs* of a class or other social group - as in the common use of the word 'ideological' to indicate general principles or theoretical propositions, or as so often unfavorably, dogmas" (Williams 1980:26).

notions which are taken to be "reality" (Hargreaves 1982b:114). Thus, hegemonic process is broader than reproductive processes related to the propagation of intellectual explanations or meanings at a more abstract level. Hegemony reproduces intellectual abstractions, but also helps to reproduce what Williams has called "structures of feeling". These structures of feeling refer more to instincts, or 'gut' level reactions than to formalized ideas about the world (Whitson 1984:68). Sporting behavior is part of the more formalized ideological development, and also part of the more generalized hegemonic process. It is important to realize that hegemony cannot be equated with dominance, in that ideological hegemony

> has continually to be reviewed, recreated, defended and modified. It is also continuously resisted, limited, altered and challenged, by pressures not at all its own (Williams 1977:112).

Thus, though a dominant ideology exists which supports the status quo and is promoted by those in power, it must contend with both residual and emergent ideologies. Residual ideologies are those remaining from an earlier age (such as the vestigial belief in amateurism which is still associated with the Olympics). Newly forming ideologies, often promoted by underclasses or oppressed minorities, are called 'emergent ideologies'.

There has been a range of criticism directed at both the structuralist and culturalist positions within and outside sport studies. Hargreaves (1982a), who is influenced by Williams and Gramsci, scathingly critiques Althusserianism, saying "It is difficult to see how this framework can be helpful" (1982a:45). He says that the framework is too general and gives no guidance as to how the sports ideological state apparatus works. A second problem is that ideology and culture are assimilated in the work of Althusser, with science set apart in a separate realm, resulting in a group of scientifically cognizant analysts on the one hand, and the masses on the other hand who are so 'ideologically crammed' that they cannot appreciate their own structural determination. Hargreaves points out that the third problem with Althusserianism is the lack of room for an analysis of consciousness as an active element in the making and remaking of society, which minimizes the possibilities for an understanding of the problems that dominant groups encounter in exerting control. Without an analysis of

consciousness, it is hard to understand conflict. A final difficulty stems from Althusser's assimilation of society to the state - every superstructural element becomes an apparatus of the state. For Hargreaves, "this reasoning is quite fallacious" (1982a:46).

One criticism of the culturalist position stems from the premise that ideology is material. In order for any social theory to be useful, it must be able to distinguish component parts of the social world, and suggest relationships between these parts. An analysis which too easily likens mental processes, cultural forms and productive labour cannot offer much insight into the various effects that each of these factors has on the other. If ideology comes to include too much, the analyst has no ability to differentiate between what is and is not ideological, and therefore cannot speculate on ways in which ideology is promoted, or ways in which it can be changed.

Alan Ingham (1982) has critiqued the culturalist position set out in a paper of John Hargreaves (1982b) on sport and hegemony. Ingham contends that, in trying to avoid the economic determinism of the structuralist's position, Hargreaves' theory is not helpful in elucidating the domination of the owners and managers of capital in the production process. He argues as well that the theory of hegemony would have difficulty in explaining the effects of technology and rationalisation on sport, and states summarily that:

> John Hargreaves' emphasis upon the relative autonomy of culture vis-a-vis the infrastructure and upon sport as a dramatization of contradictory social practices seems to relegate any attempt to apprehend the logic that contours (sets limits upon) the range of practical possibilities to theoretical idealism (Ingham 1982:205).

Ingham's viewpoint is that Hargreaves' culturalist hegemony theory is not determinist enough.

In a more recent article, S.J. Parry (1984) follows up on the type of critique articulated by Ingham, by suggesting that there is little in the way of strategy offered by Hargreaves (1982a) and other hegemony theorists. Parry indicates that Hargreaves has accepted a certain reading of Gramsci, one which de-emphasizes economic determinism, and that such a reading does not generate much discussion of revolutionary strategy. Parry asks of

Hargreaves "What is to be accomplished? How is sport to be rearticulated to working class hegemony? Through what agency? . . . What should I do tomorrow?" (Parry 1984:80).

In sum, the structuralist position can be criticized for overemphasizing economic relations while underemphasizing the autonomous aspects of cultural forms and the effects of consciousness and conflict on the material world. The culturalist position conversely overemphasizes consciousness, suggesting that ideas are material. Thus there is insufficient explanatory power with regard to the logic of economic processes within capitalism. In some formulations, culturalism can lead to inadequate development of strategy. Both strains of Marxist thought are deficient.

In order to overcome these deficiencies, it has been suggested (Ingham 1982; Johnson 1979; Parry 1984) that the strengths of both approaches should be recognized and employed in a complete analysis of cultural forms, while avoiding the pitfalls which have been outlined. Central to Marxist materialism is the notion that what we do, our labour, affects how we think. But our thoughts in turn affect what we do. Though the social structure sets the limits within which change can occur, human beings can consciously affect their life conditions within these structured limits. Eventually, when a revolutionary process commences, the social structure can be changed through human struggle. Marxist analysis must incorporate a hard-edged critique of social structure and a compassionate exposition of the human struggles which go on within this structure.

The sort of approach which combines an emphasis on structure and human agents turns on a correct understanding of the word "determination". A structuralist interpretation (and a culturalist critique of structuralism) defines determination as the inevitability of certain absolute results. Using this narrow meaning, if social life is determined, it is constrained very specifically, or fated. However, in the full Marxist sense of the word, social determination refers to the setting of limits or boundaries within which social change can take place. Human beings can act within these predetermined and temporary limits. Though social life is channelled and social actions are guided in a determined world, human beings can make their

own history within these guidelines. A determined social world is not static and unchanging, even though it is disciplined and limited by the productive forces and social labour which prevail within it. Human beings can act freely within such a structured world, under certain constraints.

The key constraining, or determining force in capitalist society (or any society) is the labour process. An accurate comprehension of sport begins by grasping the labour process. Beamish (1981) explains the relationship between labour and culture (sport) succinctly. He says that culture has three determinants related to labour: concrete labour (physical activity such as running, jumping or throwing in the case of sport); concrete cultural objects or objectified labour (the contest or record in the case of sport); and abstract cultural ideas about labour (a body of ideas about sport). The student of sport, recognizing that labour is the determining aspect of sport must analyze the physical activity which is the concrete labour of sport, the game or object of sport labour, and the ideational constructs which emerge from physical activity, the game, and knowledge about sport. Beamish goes on to suggest that sport must be reviewed with respect to nonsport labour, too. Just as sport has three significant determinants, so does nonsport labour such as industrial labour. The relation between labour in general and sport labour in particular must be developed, ensuring that concrete labour (throwing a ball or hoeing potatoes), objects of labour (a football game or a bushel of potatoes), and knowledge (a slant six pass pattern or the proper fertilizer mix) are studied with respect to each other.

Beamish provides a comprehensive prescription for the social scientist concerned with sport, by emphasizing a logical formulation of the relationship between labour and culture, and specifying the formal objective categories which must be utilized in a materialist approach. However, though he mentions that the active subject of a social scientific study (and of life) is a labourer making her own history, he does not emphasize the struggle which takes place as history is made. The sense that the social practice in which sports people are engaged is historically constitutive, while not absent from Beamish's work, comes through more clearly in

Gruneau's (1983) expostulation. Gruneau sees sports as:

> distinctly social practices existing in *and constitutive of* historically shifting limits and possibilities that specify the range of powers available to human agents at different historical moments (1983:140 emphasis added).

Gruneau, in stating that sports may be constitutive of limits and possibilities, is suggesting that sports have some autonomy from the workaday world. They are not rigidly determined by labour, and indeed can have some effect on productive and reproductive labour relations. This is because, though the rules and structures of sport are made by human agents who live in a capitalist society which is defined by much broader constraining rules, these agents do not unreflectingly apply the broader rules to sporting practices. Instead, human agents *mediate* between the rules of their nonsport life and their sporting practices. Therefore, cultural forms such as sport do not reflect the social world perfectly, and indeed sports may contradict the arrangements of social life. We can see the imperfect reflection of capitalist productive relations, for example, in sports such as boxing which provide localities for Horatio Alger rags to riches stories. Similarily, the powerful physiques and performances of female Olympian shotputters symbolically contradict the ideology of feminine weakness which is part of the patriarchal relations of reproduction. These sorts of contradictions are due to the mediation of human agents in the social construction of sports. Sports are not restrictively determined by a social structure, but humanly created. They are therefore somewhat autonomous from productive and reproductive relations.

Gruneau goes on to describe three main features of the autonomy of sports from the dominant economic and political structures which make up the relations of production and reproduction (1983:149-51). First, sports are "bracketed" forms of human existence. They are set apart from real life, and thought of as playful, separate, fun, frivolous, and unreal. Much of this unreality is created by the dramatic aspects of sports such as role playing, theatricality, ritual and costuming which are found in every sports spectacular and to a certain degree in any 'pick up' game. Sports tell stories about losers and winners, successes and

failures through simple, easy to understand actions.

Sports gain this autonomy, secondly, through a "metaphoric appeal to voluntary action and agency embodied in spontaneous play" (Gruneau 1983:149). The 'sacred' side of sport calls for voluntary submission to rules of authority. The 'profane' side of sports, conversely, involves voluntary resistance to certain rules. Rule defiance is one way in which athletes probe their social world. This profane play can be seen as a way of escaping the limiting bounds of the everyday world, and as an escape, profane play can never be incorporated into the bounds of dominant work relations (Gruneau 1983:150).

The final characteristic of sport which supports its autonomy from the everyday world is that sports make "metaphoric statements of ultimate possibilities" (Gruneau 1983:151). Games and sports suggest that freedom, fairness and equality of opportunity are possible: the best athlete wins. Perhaps the aesthetic sports, above all, emphasize the ultimate potential beauty of the human body. The Olympic slogan "higher, faster, farther" incorporates this notion of virtually unlimited possibility.

In this dissertation, the structuralist emphasis on a determined world in which human agents can act will be combined with a culturalist emphasis on the autonomous aspects of cultural forms. Both the constraining influences of capitalist patriarchal society, and the liberatory potential of sports and the actions of people will be addressed.

Overview of the Dissertation

Examining gender inequality in Canadian sports from a socialist feminist perspective logically begins with statements about the economic relations within Canadian society. Socialist feminists agree that Canada is a capitalist patriarchy. The second chapter of this dissertation answers the question "What is capitalist patriarchy?". Beginning with a critique of Engels' position that an end to class oppression will result in the cessation of gender oppression, the chapter outlines an alternative to this traditional Marxist formulation of capitalist patriarchy, "dual systems theory", which suggests that though patriarchy and capitalism are presently

conjoined, they each can continue to exist in the absence of the other[10]. Chapter Two concerns the material bases of capitalist patriarchy, both productive labour in the paid workplace, and reproductive labour, or unpaid homemaking and childcare. The chapter sets out the determining characteristics of capitalist patriarchy by sketching the boundaries or limitations of the structure within which women and men must struggle in their daily lives.

It is pointed out that in capitalist society the site of productive labour has been separated from the site of reproductive labour. This separation between work and home is a core aspect of the material bases of capitalist patriarchy. Chapter Two concludes by discussing three further aspects of capitalist patriarchy: the commodification of female labour, sexuality and motherhood. Much of women's oppression is associated with the fact that women work at both productive and reproductive labour and especially in the twentieth century, female labour has been commodified. Women do cross the barrier between work and home. This barrier is maintained, though, partly by the social construction of sexuality. Heterosexuality has been instituted as the socially acceptable form of sexual expression, thus allowing the association of women with the home and men with the paid workplace to continue. Working in conjunction with the social construction of sexuality is the institutionalization of motherhood, which means that women are the primary parents. Women thus feel contradictory pressures to go out and "work", and to stay home and care for a husband and family. Because heterosexuality and motherhood are institutionalized rather than "natural", women can struggle against the structural constraints imposed upon them.

In Chapter Three the question "What is the relationship between sport, gender inequality and productive labour?" is addressed. First, the separation between work and home, and the association of women with the home is considered. The work/home separation has affected class relations which arise in the productive work place, and changes in productive labour have affected gender relations. These changing class and gender relations have implications for the sports world.

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[10]Arguments against dual systems theory will be presented in Chapter Two.

More specifically, the first part of Chapter Three deals with the following changes in industrial capitalism which occurred in the late nineteenth century and which have affected productive labour, and thereby sport: increased rationalisation, increased education for the working class, and increased leisure time. This historic overview also introduces commonalities in the class and gender struggles over sport. Both struggles related to the acceptable use of the body, and both had important ideological manifestations. The section on the work/home separation concludes by relating these historic changes in industrial capitalism, and the associated class and gender struggles over sport, to the contemporary world.

In part two of Chapter Three, professional sport is discussed. The possible reasons why women's athletic labour has not been commodified to the same extent as men's are acknowledged. These include biological difference, the labour market structure of professional sport, and the beliefs of entrepreneurs and the general public. The chapter concludes with a critique of the commercialisation of sport and its effects on athletes.

The issues of sexuality and motherhood are again addressed in Chapter Four. The central question of this chapter is "What is the relationship between sport, gender inequality and reproductive labour?" First, sexuality and especially the presentation of oneself as feminine, is discussed. In a critique of the work of Metheney (1965), it is asserted that the analysis of attitudes about femininity does not address the structural constraints against female sports participation. One major structural constraint is motherhood, not because of the biologically necessary aspects, but because of the social expectations which are associated with biological motherhood[11]. The second half of chapter four addresses the reproductive labour of mothering as it affects young children's locomotor development and eventual socialization into sport. The chapter also pertains to social class, indicating how femininity and mothering behaviors vary in relation to social class.

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[11]The structuring of motherhood does not mean that women are fated to be mothers. Indeed many contemporary women do not choose to mother, and many who do mother share parenting equally with a husband, another woman, or a group of adults. It is important to recognize the broad social structures and the emergent ideologies and practices acted out by individuals within these structures.

"How can gender equality be achieved in Canadian sport?" is the central question in Chapter Five. This chapter first outlines why sports are useful locations for efforts to create social change. The chapter then specifies particular reasons why efforts within sport are especially useful for feminists. The last half of the chapter deals with specific means of creating change: coalitions between working class groups and women's groups on issues such as employee fitness and public facility useage; and continued middle class feminist efforts to achieve gender equality in state supported elite sport programs. Chapter Five necessarily emphasizes the possibilities for change within capitalist patriarchy. While the preceeding chapters stress the effects of the social structure on the dominant relations within sport, it must always be remembered that human agents within and outside the sport world are conscious and can act to change history. The sense of flux and change within capitalist patriarchy becomes more evident as the possibilities for restructuring sport are discussed.

Contributions of the Dissertation

This dissertation contributes to the feminist study of social life. A consideration of Canadian sport from a socialist feminist perspective is timely. Most feminist scholarship has concentrated on two social behaviors: work and sexuality. Some feminists have discussed domestic labour and the contribution it makes to capitalism. Others have considered power and dominance as a result of sexual relations between men and women. Still others have described gender inequalities in the paid workplace. Many feminists have been concerned with attitudes toward work and sexuality. But in sum, most feminist research attention has been directed at the serious businesses of "production" and "reproduction".

Feminist concentration on sport participation breaks this pattern. As part of the development of cultural studies, a feminist concentration on sport as a cultural form can indicate how social life is reproduced through institutions which are not so directly related to the economy. Ideas and cultural knowledge are just as important to study as job markets and domestic labour, and these can be profitably explored in a study of culture. As well, if cultural

studies utilize the notion of determination appropriately, always stipulating that within structural limitations women and men struggle to make history, they can enlarge upon the possibilities for change inherent within capitalist patriarchal society.

Sport as an object of study can enhance the corpus of cultural studies because of the notion of playfulness that is associated with it. Sport is considered by many to be free, unproductive and separate from the real world. While this is an idealist notion of the meaning of sport which does not recognize the real material grounding of sport and all other cultural forms, the conceptualization of sport as playful and separate is associated with the minimal consideration which feminists, and most social scientists have given to sports. A further characteristic which distinguishes sport from other cultural forms is its focus on the body. A study of sport can show the interplay between culture and sexuality, for instance, very graphically. The moving human female body can be a carrier of many messages related to sexuality and reproductive labour in ways which are unlike the more stationary arts.

It must be confirmed here that though socialist feminist theory begins from the standpoint of women, it is not solely about women. This dissertation focusses on gender, or the relations between the sexes. A focus on the *distribution* of opportunities to women is a necessary initial step in understanding the oppression of women. The approach is characteristic of the vast majority of studies on women in sport, and of a great many studies of women in the social world in general. But such an approach is incomplete, because it does not leave room for analysis of the *relationships* between women and men - relations which are characterized by domination and subordination. Much of the sociology of women and sport has been a description of unequal distribution, and has left the question: "Why this distribution?" unasked[12]. Once the why question is asked, answers pertaining to the relationship between men and women (or the power of men over women) will be discussed. Such theory, if grounded in material reality and not merely in psychological attitudes, will take us beyond the statistical

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[12]The need for an analysis of the relationships between social groups, rather than a comparison of the distribution of opportunities amoing social groups has been clarified by Gruneau (1975, 1983:181) with regard to sport and social class.

documentation of the distributive differences of resources between males and females. We will then begin to discuss the relations, especially relations of power - between the sexes. Only then can we progress toward changing these relationships.

A second contribution which the dissertation makes is to the development of sport sociology. Sport has only rarely been researched by feminists. Thus, where sport has been the focus of scholarly attention, within sport sociology for example, research has been biased. Sport sociology has generally been written by men, about men, for men. Little attention has been directed to women in sport, though this has changed greatly of late. And - there has been very little *feminist* analysis of sport, whether or not data have been collected about women[13]. Even where sport sociologists have been critical of mainstream sociology and sport sociology, often advocating a return to the classics, they have retained their masculinist bias[14].

This dissertation critiques the masculinist bias[15] within both mainstream and critical sport sociology. It provides a further contribution to sport sociology by dealing with a variety of themes such as class inequality, sport socialization and state support of sport *while taking gender into account*. My objective is not to collect new data. Rather, previously collected data will be examined in new ways.

The accusation that most sport sociology is masculinist, in that it has been written by men, about men, and for men may appear rather strident, and requires a defense. First, it

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[13]Important exceptions are various publications by Hall (1976, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1984a, 1984b), Hall and Richardson (1982), Boutillier and SanGiovanni (1983), Scott Heide (1978), Birrell (1984a, 1984b) and Theberge (1983).

[14]See Gruneau (1983), Kidd (1981), Helmes (1981), Beamish (1981), Cantelon and Gruneau (1982). Recent works which have taken account of both gender and class include Beamish (1984), Whannel (1983) and Whitson (1984).

[15] "Masculinist bias" may also be referred to as "sexist bias", - a bias that is based on the expectation that people perform certain social roles and not others based simply on their sex. The difficulties which will be referred to below which arise when gender is not taken into account would also be provoked if one had a "femininist bias", but because this has not been apparent within sport sociology, the term "masculinist bias" will be used throughout to denote a particular form of sexist bias. Masculinist bias assumes that sex roles necessarily exist, and further assumes that the masculine role is dominant, and more important. The terms "masculinist" and "feminist" are used commonly by feminist writers in preference to "male/female" or "masculine/feminine", to indicate that these biases are not biologically based (suggested by male/female), and encompass more than just stereotypic gender traits (suggested by masculine/feminine).

must be clarified that sport sociologists (largely male) have not consciously decided to exclude women and girls from their consideration, or to write solely for a male audience[16]. Instead, because of traditional practice both within the academic community and within the sport world, males "naturally" have been taken to be the objects of study. The fact that the subjects of a study are all male is not seen to be important, nor to have any bearing on results. Men are taken for granted. Sport sociologists are not usually conscious of masculinist bias.

But even though masculinist bias is not conscious, it does have severe effects on the sociological understanding of sport, because an important variable, gender, is ignored. Neglecting gender as a variable can be manifested in four ways. First, findings about a group of people of only one sex, usually male in sport sociology, are generalized as findings about "society" or about a particular smaller social group. Such generalizations are frequently inaccurate, and most certainly untested, until subjects of both sexes have been examined. A second problem can arise even if both genders are included in the sample population. This occurs when gender is not taken into account in the analysis of data. Results must be broken down into subgroups of males and females if the population includes both males and females.

Some sport scientists do take account of gender by studying both males and females, and analyzing data by gender group. However, these procedures are still prone to bias if females and males are asked different questions, or studied in a different manner. This differential data collection according to gender is the third problem associated with masculinist bias. The fourth possible problem relates to differential analysis of data. This arises when subjects are studied in the same way, but similar results are interpreted differently, depending on the sex of the subject.

These four symptoms of masculinist bias, generalizing from only one gender, ignoring gender differences in data, studying each gender in a different way, or interpreting results

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[16]Although in some studies sample populations have been consciously limited to males in order to "control for the variable of sex". This limitation does not control any variable, but in fact obscures any understanding of the impact that sex has on social behavior.

according to gender, are methodological problems[17]. But they do not arise merely because of the failure to adopt a nonsexist methodology. Inattention, or sexist attention to gender is deeply ingrained, and relates to the entire process of sociological research and scholarship. This process entails the use of methodologies in particular research studies, but it extends far beyond these restricted 'recipes'. For example, prior to setting up a research project, a scientist must gain access to funds and institutional support. For the sport sociologist, this has invariably meant employment at a university. Continued university employment requires the development of collegial relationships in formal and informal ways, through intellectual collaboration, administrative committee work, and even drinks after work. As is noted by David Morgan (1981) the culture which has developed in universities in these formal and informal ways is overwhelmingly masculine. Morgan points out that academic rationality (which is required if one is to produce a scholarly piece of work) is closely linked to "academic maschismo" or the competitive display of masculine traits such as the ability to fight. Therefore if a scientist does not engage in the often brutal competitive infighting, her work will not pass academic muster. Even where this competitiveness is submerged, another masculine trait which serves as an exclusionary factor according to Morgan is male homosociability. Males tend to socialize together, often in locations in which women are a minority. They frequently converse about subjects which are part of the male-oriented culture. It is difficult for scientists (either male or female) who have not been socialized into the male culture to break through this male homosociability (Morgan 1981:101-3).

What bearing does the fact that men tend to compete in friendly male groups have on sport sociology? There is much information which is necessary to the successful completion of academic research that is conveyed in such informal settings. For instance, young academics

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[17]If these problems are eradicated, then research becomes nonsexist (See Eichler 1984). Feminist research is sometimes sexist, in that it often focusses only on women and interprets finding about women differently than the same finding about men. However, this sexist interpretation is specified at the outset of feminist work, and is employed because of the special position of women and the normative nature of feminist research (See Bowles and Klein, 1983).

frequently obtain jobs by associating with the "old boys' network". But simple everyday information regarding who is in charge of funding, who has a certain scholarly expertise, and what technical resources are available is passed through these male groups as well. Sport sociologists are not immune to academic maschismo and male homosociability. They work in male dominated institutions with traditions of academic infighting, too. Male sport sociologists have made as much use of old boy networks as have other scientists. And their research reflects the masculine culture of the university.

There are signs of change within the sport sociology community. Particularly amongst those working within the critical tradition, awareness of gender issues is increasing. A keynote session at the 1983 conference of the North American Society for the Sociology of Sport focussed on gender issues and there is invariably a session relating to gender at conferences about play and sport. There is perhaps more potential for women and men within sport sociology to form male and female heterosocial groups, because sport is not a gender-bound interest in this group. Instead, sport is a subject that can serve to bring men and women closer together. This dissertation reflects a growing alignment of interests within the sport sociology community, in particular an alignment of interests in stratification by gender and by social class. In the following chapters, class and gender differentiation will be explored as they interact and are evident in Canadian sport.

Chapter II

SOCIALIST FEMINIST THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Engels' contention, in The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, that an end to capitalism would mean an end to both the exploitation of workers, and the oppression[18] of women has provoked some feminists to question whether women's oppression can be totally subsumed within a Marxist analysis. Socialist feminists wonder if explanations for gender hierarchy can be found in analysis of productive labour alone. Their question is: are women oppressed by a capitalist system, or by capitalism *and* by men? The position taken by this author is that two social systems are operating, in a closely related manner. Capitalism and patriarchy both have an effect on the relations between the sexes. Before explaining and justifying this contention, a definition of capitalist patriarchy is needed. Heidi Hartmann's significant article (1981) provides a definition of patriarchy:

> We can usefully define patriarchy as a set of social relations between men which have a material base, and which, though hierarchical, establish or create interdependence and solidarity among men that enable them to dominate women (1981:15).

Simply put, then, patriarchy is the domination of women by men. This definition is broader than a frequently used alternative (argued for by some such as Barrett, 1980), which states that patriarchy is rule by the father. This narrower definition arose when Max Weber used the term patriarchy for a specific form of household organization in which the father dominated the family, and controlled economic production. The broader definition is used here because, employed in this way, 'patriarchy' provides a summation of the complex relations

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[18]There is a difference between "exploitation" and "oppression". Eisenstein states succinctly that:

> Exploitation speaks to the economic reality of capitalist class relations for men and women, whereas oppression refers to women and minorities defined within patriarchal, racist and capitalist relations.

Thus, women's oppression is a result not only of her exploitation as a wage labourer, but also as a mother, domestic labourer and consumer. Oppression is the opposite of power, or the ability to exercise will, even against opposition (Eisenstein 1979b:22).

between the sexes, and at the same time makes apparent the key factor in these relations: male power. The term 'patriarchy' is no more ahistorical than the word 'capitalism', because both terms refer to periods in which there were vast changes in social structure. It is necessary that Marxists, feminists, and socialist feminists continue to elaborate on the shifts in both capitalism and patriarchy over time.

What then of *capitalist*[19] patriarchy? Capitalist society is characterized by private property and profit-making. In its most abstract conceptualization, the capitalist mode of production results in two classes: the owners and the workers. Workers must sell their labour power to owners in order to survive, and owners can profit from the surplus value created by the workers. That is, owners sell the products which the workers create for more money than it costs to pay the workers' salaries and the others costs of production, and keeps the excess as profit for themselves. The value of the product is created by the labour which the workers employ in making the product. Value is not an inherent characteristic of the product itself. Because labourers create profits for capitalists, there is a tendency to commodify labour that has been performed solely because of its use to the labourer. For example, in precapitalist society, people made their own soap for personal use, but in capitalist society the labour of soap-making is now sold as a commodity to soap companies[20].

The commodification of labour results in the *alienation* of labour. Alienation, in this context, means the separation of the labourer from the product of his or her labour and from his or her labour power itself. When the capitalist buys a workers' labour by employing him or her and paying a wage, labour is no longer a part of the worker, as the worker no longer owns

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[19] It is necessary to preceed the word patriarchy with such an adjective, because without this delimitation, 'patriarchy' does become an ahistorical conception. Barrett (1980:11) comments on the ahistorical use of the term by early radical feminists. Such usage, Barrett argues, suggests that men's political power over women is the fundamental division in society, more potent than other divisions such as those of class and race. The radical feminist position reduces the importance of class divisions among women, and suggests that patriarchy is analytically independent of capitalism, or other modes of production.

[20] This simplified presentation of Marx's abstract model of capitalism has been derived from Marx's Capital, Vol I (1977), Mandel (1969), and Giddens (1973:33-40).

his or her own labour. In all forms of human labour, including that labour which produces something to be consumed by the worker, the product is alienated from the labourer. But only in capitalism is the actual labour power, the ability to work, alienated as it is when it is sold[21].

In capitalist society in the twentieth century two major developments have occurred. First, the middle class has grown. This class must sell its labour to survive, but managers, professionals and white collar workers and others of the middle class command higher wages, reflecting their differential bargaining power in the marketplace. The second important change in late capitalism is the development of monopolies. Production of goods in excess of the amount that consumers can purchase has led to capitalist crises, and these crises motivate the concentration and centralization of capital in the hands of a few multinational corporations. Monopoly capital relations, characterized by the joint stock company, are thus distinct from the relations of earlier "free enterprise" capitalism (Giddens 1973:35).

This brief overview of capitalism identifies the characteristics of capitalism which have the most impact on patriarchy. First, capitalist society is class society. Within capitalist society, because workers produce profits and owners benefit from these profits, the working class is oppressed. Second, there is a distinction between labour which is sold to capitalists to produce profit (wage labour) and labour which is useful to the people who perform it, but which is not sold. Wage labour can also be called productive labour. The relations which occur in the paid labour market are called productive relations. The difference between productive labour in the paid workplace and reproductive labour in the home is that productive labour

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[21]Marx explains alienation in the economic and philosophic manuscripts, excerpted in Giddens and Held (1982). Alienation is also explained thoroughly in Mandel (1969). The term alienation itself has a wide variety of referents. The most widespread contemporary use is derived from psychology, when alienation is used to mean a loss of connection with one's deepest feelings and needs. This is related to the mainstream sociological sense which suggests that 'mass society' is alienating because the structure of modern work, education and community creates feelings of powerlessness, normlessness, meaninglessness, isolation and self-estrangement. This use indicates the wider range of meaning which the word takes on in common parlance. Marx's use of alienation was much more specific. See Williams (1976:29-32) and Isreal (1971). Of interest to the socialist feminist theorist is Ann Foreman's book, Femininity as Alienation, which has been criticized for its inaccurate usage of Marx's concept of alienation.

produces profits for capitalists[22]. Finally, there is a tendency to commodify all labour, even that which is performed for the benefit of the worker herself, unpaid.

The Dual Systems Theory of Capitalism and Patriarchy

There are firm links between patriarchy and capitalism. Capitalist patriarchy is a situation of male power over women, wherein profits are made from private property. Male power and capitalist power are united in capitalist patriarchy. Hartmann suggests that patriarchal power is maintained through men's control over women's domestic labour and childcare in the home (reproductive labour) which results from the institutionalization of monogomous, heterosexual marriage. Therefore, capitalist patriarchy is based on relations of reproductive labour, as well as productive labour. While class divisions arise from productive labour relations, gender divisions arise primarily from labour in the home, or reproductive labour. Engels notes this indirectly when he says:

> The determining factor in history is, in the last resort, the production and reproduction of immediate life. But this itself is of a twofold character. On the one hand, the production of the means of subsistence of food, clothing and shelter and the tools requisite therefore; on the other, the production of human beings themselves, the propogation of the species (1978:737).

This statement, and later feminist usage of the term reproduction makes labour which does not produce profits as important, analytically, as productive labour, or labour which does produce profits[23].

Patriarchy, the ancient social system, is different under conditions of capitalism than under other economic systems such as feudalism, and thus can be shown to be affected by capitalism. But, though these social systems are presently in conjunction, they each have a life of their own. Characteristics of capitalism, which are not necessarily patriarchal can be

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[22] This distinction will be further elaborated in "The Material Bases of Capitalist Patriarchy" (below).

[23] It should be noted that "reproduction" is used here to denote more than childbirth and childcare, as O'Brien (1981) has used the term. Here reproduction includes the skills of mothering, but also the skills of caring for the husband and home such as cooking, cleaning and other forms of domestic labour.

identified, and noncapitalistic patriarchal relations can also be identified. Examples of this latter situation are seen in the status of women in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics[24] or in Communist China, where women's reproductive rights have been greatly limited by the socialist state (Rowbotham 1972). Specific capitalist relations which are not patriarchal (in businesses owned and controlled by women, for example) can be found in western capitalist nations.

Further support to the position that capitalism and patriarchy are two interrelated systems is found in the fact that often the interests of men and the interests of capitalist employers are contradictory. In nineteenth century Britain, for example, women were encouraged by employers to join the labour force because they could be paid low wages, and profits could therefore be increased. Male workers in trade unions organized against such employment of women, because female workers undercut the bargaining position of male workers and because the employment of women removed women and their services from the home (Hartmann 1981:20-1). Eisenstein (1981) points out that in the contemporary world as well, patriarchy and capitalism are two systems of power which have to organize in relation to each other. Conflicts between the systems are proof of the autonomy that each system must have in order to operate in the interests of the other. Eisenstein indicates (1981:205) that while patriarchal relations of marriage and the family sphere are presently being undermined, capitalism continues to utilize these relations as means of reproducing labour. These conflicts show that patriarchy and capitalism may or may not be mutually supportive, and can have autonomous determinants.

The dual systems theory enunciated above suggests, in sum, that capitalism and patriarchy are distinct, yet interrelated. They are both based on material relationships: capitalism on productive labour, and patriarchy on reproductive labour. The locus of class division lies in the paid workplace, while gender division arises from reproductive labour performed in the home, for families. Support for the dual systems theory may be found in the

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[24]See Warshofsky-Lapidus, (1978), and Molyneux, (1981).

fact that patriarchal relations predate capitalist relations, and exist in socialist states of the present day. As well, the interests of capitalists do not always coincide with the interests of men.

Arguments against Dual Systems Theory

A number of arguments have been voiced against a dual systems theory of capitalism and patriarchy[25]. The first and most common one is that dual systems theory dehistoricizes patriarchal relations, positing patriarchy as universal. This argument has been dealt with ably by Hartmann (1981:17) and by Eisenstein (1979:25), who note that patriarchy, while universal, constantly changes its form. The charge of the ahistorical theorization of patriarchy was initially directed at the early work of Juliet Mitchell (1975), but it cannot be levelled at the more recent formulations cited above. Hartmann and Eisenstein both make a strong case for the very close relationship between capitalism and patriarchy historically. They do this by analyzing reproductive relations in different family structures as they vary over time. The concept of patriarchy is historicized by reference to the changing material basis of reproduction.

Male control of reproductive labour is maintained partly through control of sexuality. Because the locus of patriarchal relations in dual systems theory lies in reproductive labour within families, some critics have said that such theory cannot deal with women outside traditional families. Such a criticism is similar to berating Marxism for focussing narrowly on the ninteenth century workplace. Just as the Marxian analysis has been used with reference to virtually all spheres of social life (including sport), so can a feminist analysis of patriarchy be applied to more than the relations between husband and wife in the family. Indeed it is very necessary to focus on patriarchal relations outside of the family, so as to expose the myth that single economically independent women live outside the bounds of patriarchy.

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[25]See Acker (1981) and Young (1981) for summaries.

Another criticism of dual systems theory is that it allows Marxist theory of productive relations to remain unchanged.

> . . . the dual systems theory allows traditional Marxism to maintain its theory of productive relations, historical change and analysis of the structure of capitalism in a basically unchanged form (Young 1981:49).

This analysis is fair. The concept of patriarchy does not challenge the fundamental precepts of Marxism; that social classes are based on the relationship to the means of production, and that workers are exploited because surplus value, created by productive labour accrues to the capitalist in the form of profits. Marxism remains intact in dual systems theories.

But this is not a weakness. Patriarchal capitalism is still capitalism. Even though Marxism is 'gender-blind', it remains a tool which reveals quite clearly the relations of production, and the inequality which results from these relations. Marxist theory, though unable to see gender, is most capable of seeing class. It is necessary to retain this tool, in an elaborated form, but with its fundamental precepts intact. The elaboration of Marxism provided by dual systems theorists, has been seen as merely additive. Dual systems theory *is* additive. But this addition is absolutely necessary in the development of a comprehensive understanding of social relations.

The best criticism which has been raised against dual systems theory is articulated by Acker (1981) who says that because two systems of oppression are postulated, the roots of domination of women by men must be sought in more than one place. In other words, if patriarchy has a continuing existence of its own, the forces perpetuating this system must be distinguishable from those perpetuating capitalism. There are two possible sources of male dominance which the dual systems theorists have outlined, Acker says (1981:7). First, men's economic resources have been shown to give them the ability to dominate in the family. But she points out that this explanation of male power begs the question of how men become more powerful economically. Secondly, dual systems theorists have said that men gain power because "there is built into the structure of family relations an ideology of male dominance and

female nurturance that perpetuates age-old inequities" (Acker 1981:8). But such theorizing, while indicating the way that male power is *transmitted* through ideology, rarely shows how such ideology is *created*. The psychoanalytic account of Juliet Mitchell (1975) does say that this ideology is created through the process of becoming gendered, when each biological sex is invested with a particular social meaning. But as noted above, this psychoanalytic account can be criticized for its ahistoricism.

Hartmann recognizes the lack of explanation of the source of male power in her own analysis, indicating that patriarchy as she has used it remains more a descriptive term than an analytic one (1981:29). Admitting the inadequacies of Marxist feminism in its infancy, she specifies some starting points for further development of the theory of patriarchy, and one of these starting points is the effort to uncover the material base of capitalist patriarchy.

The arguments against dual systems theory which have been discussed above are fourfold. First, this theory has been criticized for its ahistorical conceptualization of patriarchy. Secondly, it has been suggested that dual systems theory cannot analyze women outside the family. A third criticism is that dual systems theory allows Marxism to remain unchanged. Finally, dual systems theory is criticized for its lack of analysis of the material basis of women's oppression. The first three criticisms have been rebutted by saying that the most recent formulations of dual systems theory do historicize patriarchy, through grounding it in changing reproductive relations; by showing that patriarchal relations exist outside the immediate nuclear family; and by indicating that Marxism is a valid way of understanding class relations and should not be discarded because of its inadequacy in dealing with gender. In the following section, the final criticism, that dual systems theory does not adequately explain the material basis of capitalist patriarchy, will be addressed by discussing that basis.

The Material Base of Capitalist Patriarchy

Two systems of oppression are operating within capitalism and patriarchy: 1) the relations of capitalist production, and 2) the relations of patriarchal reproduction. The two

systems, even though they may share some characteristics, are in some ways independent of one another. In order to understand these two sets of relations, the transitional period when feudalism gave way to capitalism in the seventeenth century must be examined. Roberta Hamilton's (1978) analysis of this transition shows quite clearly how capitalist production relations modify the sexual division of labour, and are a continuing material base of patriarchy. Socialist feminists base much of their analysis on this period because it is during this time that the structure of the family was fundamentally altered. Four general changes took place. First, the feudal family was a self-sufficient economic unit whose members, except for the very youngest children, all contributed economically. Thus there was no separation between a workplace such as a factory where economically productive work took place, and the home[26]. With the rise of capitalism, a distinct separation between work and home appears.

A second dichotomy which arose with capitalism is that between production and consumption. In the present day, Canadian families produce very little, if any, of their own food, clothing and other necessities and luxuries. The home, therefore, is the site of consumption of goods purchased with wages earned by one or more family members at a site of production. Feudal family members grew crops and tended livestock, made their own clothing and were generally self-sufficient.

A third split, alluded to above with reference to the work-home dichotomy is the separation between "work" and "housework". In feudal times, domestic labour or work in the home, was part of productive labour. It created goods which were eventually consumed. While there was a sexual division of labour, this division did not coincide with a division between work and housework.

The home, the site of housework and consumption of goods, is commonly considered in the present day as the private sphere. Correspondingly, the workplace and marketplace have become the public sphere. The private sphere is directly associated with the family, and

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[26]This is not to suggest that the feudal economic system was nonoppressive. Oppression in feudal times was based on the requirement that peasants had to give a portion of their produce to the lords (Hamilton 1978:38).

therefore the family has become a private institution. The public-private split is the fourth general dichotomy that was elaborated during the transition from feudalism to capitalism. This public/private dichotomy is noted even in prehistoric societies, as many anthropologists indicate (Ortner and Whitehead 1981:7), but because of the alienation of workers under capitalism, the need for privacy and the distinction between the public and private spheres increases. Hamilton's overview thus indicates how the reproductive labour, including housework, that women performed became separated under capitalism into a private, domestic sphere.

How have these separations affected gender relations? The separation between work and housework leads to the denigration of housework as less productive and meaningful than "real" work. Women's work was therefore degraded. The discussion about whether domestic labour is productive for capitalism is called the 'domestic labour debate'. Beginning with Margaret Benston (1969), who theorized that domestic labour is valueless from the standpoint of capital, it was continued by Peggy Morton (1970) who signalled the fact that as mothers, women were the reproducers of capitalist labour. Mariarosa Dalla Costa and Selma James (1972) also placed importance on mothering, and suggested that women do indeed perform productive labour. In 1974 Wally Seccombe argued that though domestic labour is not productive in the Marxist sense (because housework is not directly exchanged with capital to produce surplus value), it is necessary to capitalism, not only because it reproduces labour power, but because it allows commodities to be converted into consumable form. Seccombe was recognizing necessary work like shopping and cooking. He further pointed out that, although wages appear to be exchanged for work performed on the job site, they are really payment for labour in the home which is needed to prepare the paid worker to return to work. Further elaboration on the debate came from Gardiner (1975) who said that domestic labour contributes to surplus value by keeping down the value of paid labour power (stretching the paycheck). These debates as to whether domestic labour provides use value or exchange value were not satisfactorily resolved. What they did point out is that domestic labour is <u>necessary</u> to capitalism. Thus, the theoretical work overcame the popular notion that domestic labour is

somehow worth less than paid labour. Marxists, using rather arcane jargon, convinced themselves that capitalism had obscured the importance of the reproduction of labour power. This theoretical conclusion has yet to appear as a generalized ideology among working women and men[27]. The separation between work and housework still exists in the minds of many people, who denigrate housework.

The separation between public and private spheres limits women's opportunity to freely engage in the public, political world. Feminists have frequently commented on the central importance of the association of men with the public sphere of the polity, and women with the private sphere of the family. This separation has been noted since antiquity by many philosophers (O'Brien 1980:97-8). It has been pointed out that because males control political power, men are able to control women and children. Political control in Canada today is affected by state structures. The transition to capitalism reinforced male control over state power. Women in capitalist society continued to be associated with the home and family, and were dominated by men within the state structure. The public-private distinction characterizes not only the capitalist relations of production, but also the patriarchal relations of reproduction. This occurs because state laws and practices support the traditional family structure which reinforces reproductive relations by making childcare the primary responsibility of women, and assuring that paternity is undisputed. The private-public distinction then supports both patriarchy and capitalism.

The separation between work and home also affects women in a negative way. If women are isolated in separate homes, they cannot meet with other workers as easily as workers who labour in the same location. Houseworkers have not organized formally (in unions, for instance) to demand changes in the capitalist relations which cause their dependency on a husband's wage, the denigration of their housework, the restriction to the private world and

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[27]Theorists are now going beyond the rather narrow efforts to fit domestic labour into Marxist categories, by building on these earlier analyses, and incorporating women's wage labour into a more holistic picture, related to today's concrete realities. For a review of the domestic labour debate, see Armstrong and Armstrong (1983a).

fear of the public world. Though women work collectively, frequently with mothers and sisters to enhance their productivity through shared babysitting and shopping, for instance, housewife collectivities have not been used to alter the sexual division of labour itself.

In summary, Hamilton (1978) has outlined four aspects of the material base of capitalist patriarchy. Each separation has affected the relations between the genders, and adds to the oppression of women[28]. The separations can be summarized by saying that the site of labour has been divided; productive labour occurs in the paid workplace, and reproductive labour occurs in the home. Thus the various aspects of the transition from feudalism to capitalism are neatly embodied in the work/home separation, and all that this separation continues to connote[29]. It is this separation between work and home that is of major importance for women, and this separation will be central to the rest of discussion in this dissertation.

Capitalism and the Commodification of Female Labour

The transition from feudalism to capitalism resulted in the separation between home and workplace, and the commodification of labour. It has been pointed out that, within capitalist society women continued to be associated with unpaid reproductive labour in the home. But women also had to sell their labour in the productive sphere, alongside men. Bonnie Fox (1980b) shows how the relations of capitalist production allow male dominance in the productive, public spheres, even though women are part of the paid labour market, by explaining twentieth century changes in the *reproduction* of daily life. Her position, in summary, is that working class wives take paying jobs whenever these jobs become available, because, under conditions of commodity production, when goods cost money, and when wages are below family subsistence level, the wage of a working class husband isn't enough.

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[28] Men, too, are oppressed in many ways by these separations. For instance, they do not share in the joys of childcare (or the problems) as frequently as women.
[29] In some feminist theory (See Gamarnikow et al., 1983.) the separation between the public and the private sphere emphasized over other separations. However, the separation between work and home best accentuates the effects of capitalism on patriarchy.

Therefore, when textile workers were in demand in the twentieth century, for instance, working class wives joined the paid labour force[30].

Fox argues that middle class wives entered the labour market for two reasons. Firstly, as owners of labour saving devices such as washing machines, these women had the time to commit to wage labour. They also had a reason to work for wages; many of the more recent needs of the middle class family such as cars and college educations cannot be gained through intensifying domestic labour. Such commodities must be purchased, and often can be purchased only with the additional income of the 'working' wife.

The socialist feminist analysis of the division of labour, then, suggests that the exigencies of capitalism maintain the division of labour according to sex, by reserving domestic labour for women, and at the same time urging them into the paid labour force. This dual role explains the segregated labour of women in the marketplace, too. Women's domestic labour and the segregated labour of women in the marketplace are directly related. Because women are expected to, and do perform the reproductive labours of housekeeping, childcare, caring for a husband, shopping and money management, they cannot commit themselves as fully to wage labour as can men. Of primary importance is the time away from the waged job which childbearing and childrearing necessitates. But other restrictions are very important, too; women frequently cannot relocate in order to accept a promotion because of their responsibilities to their husbands; the fatigue of holding a full-time job as a housekeeper precludes many women from accepting difficult and/or mentally taxing responsibilities in their paid labour; and the double burden of work in the home and on the job can create an increased incidence of illness (Armstrong and Armstrong 1978:141-4). In sum, because women have added responsibilities in the home, they are employed in a limited number of sex-typed jobs[31].

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[30] With the advance in computer technology, some of women's labour, such as word processing, can now be performed in the home. Thus, some women are performing a double day of labour, including productive labour and reproductive labour, while remaining in the home (Menzies 1983).

[31] The poor conditions of much of women's work in Canada, as described by women workers is documented in Armstrong and Armstrong (1983b).

The preceeding discussion of domestic labour and women's paid labour has shown how, through the transition to capitalism and changes in labour force participation of women in recent times, distinct power differences between men and women have been enforced. The separations between work and home, work and housework, production and consumption and private and public have created a capitalist society in which men are dominant.

But there are social relations which are not always correlated with capitalist relations, These relations comprise the way in which procreative sexuality, human biological reproduction and childcare are socially structured. These relations exist alongside capitalist production, but existed prior to capitalism, as well. They have been identified as patriarchal reproductive relations.

Patriarchal Reproductive Relations and the Oppression of Women

Analysis of the material basis of patriarchy, as Hartmann points out (Hartmann 1981:29) is a task in its very early stages. Feminists have begun explicit work, and such analysis is implicit in any work of a popular, polemical or scholarly nature which deals with the social organization of sexuality, human reproduction, and childcare. Sexuality will be discussed first.

Sexuality

Until the middle of the twentieth century, sexuality was considered by scholars, medical practitioners and others who studied it to be the result of innate drives, like the quest for food. Studies focussed on the erotic, genital aspects of behavior. Implicit in the learned works of men such as Havelock Ellis was the belief that the "sex drive" was present mainly in the male, and had a heterosexual orientation. However, as Jeffrey Weeks points out (1981)[32] since the 1960's researchers have begun to challenge the biological essentialism of the first few hundred years or so of sexology. Gagnon and Simon (1973), from an interactionist perspective, Juliet

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[32] See also Padgug (1979) for an overview of the theoretical and research problems in the study of sexuality.

Mitchell (1975) who reinterprets Freudian psychoanalysis, Lillian Faderman (1981) who discusses women's "romantic friendships" over time, and Michel Foucault (1979), who has written a discursive history of sexuality, are at the forefront of this rejection of the autonomy of sex from history. They argue that sex is more than simply biological, or simply a pleasurable experience. Weeks, (1981), building upon the insights of Foucault has suggested that:

> . . .sex is relational, is shaped in social interaction, and can only be understood in its historical context, in terms of cultural meanings assigned to it, and in terms of internal, subjective meanings of the sexed individuals that emerge. This in turn demands an exploration of a variety of forces that have shaped and constructed 'modern sexuality', and these range from the familial and extra-familial forces that shape sexual and gender orientation at the level of the individual, to the social and industrial transformations that have altered class relations (Weeks 1981:12).

Recognition of the fact that sexuality is constructed historically, and is not a biological given, is imperative to an understanding of the patriarchal relations of reproduction. Sex is like other social behaviours in that it is governed by arbitrary rules which are passed from one generation to the next. Without seeing that sexual forms are socially based, one cannot posit the possibility of altering the predominant forms of sexual expression. In the western world today, the socially acceptable form of sexual expression is heterosexuality.

Anthropological evidence must be tapped if heterosexuality and its relationship to patriarchal reproduction is to be understood. One anthropologist who has made an effort to see heterosexuality as an institution is Gayle Rubin (1975). Rubin synthesizes the work of Levi-Strauss and Freud in her effort to illuminate what she calls the sex/gender system, and the exchange or 'traffic' in women which maintains this system. In her exigesis of Levi-Strauss' (1969) examination of kinship, she points out that kinship structures are based on the "exchange of women". In primitive social organization, gift giving served to cement relations between societies. Marriage, the giving of a woman, was a basic form of exchange. Rubin points out that such gift giving results in many more rights for men than for women. Men, the

exchangers, had more power than women, the exchanged.

> . . . the exchange of women is a profound perception of a system in which women do not have full rights to themselves (Rubin 1975:177).

Women, in primitive societies, with few rights, were thus controlled by more powerful males.

Probing deeper into the "labyrinth" of Levi-Strauss' thought, Rubin realizes that heterosexuality had to be instituted if the exchange of women for marriage was to continue. Heterosexual unions were assured by creating economic interdependency between males and females. That is, labour was divided on the basis of sex so that the smallest possible economically self-sufficient unit had to be composed of one man and one woman (Rubin 1975:178). In summary, the division of labour by sex maintains heterosexuality, which perpetuates a patriarchal kinship structure. Rubin shows that heterosexuality was institutionalized in primitive societies and did not come about biologically. She secondly shows how institutionalized heterosexuality served to maintain male power through kinship structures.

But can these thoughts of Levi-Strauss about primitive societies be applied to the modern age? Surely Canadian society of today is not organized around an exchange of women. Even if heterosexuality was institutionalized among primitive peoples, and even if it did perpetuate male power, the same cannot be said of the present. Is not marriage of today entered into freely, by choice?

Rubin "updates" her reading of Levi-Strauss by indicating how complementary his principles are with Freud's twentieth century insights. Without replicating what is a complex argument (Rubin 1975:192-199), and without explaining the dynamics of kinship structures of today (located in the nuclear family), this 'fit' between Levi-Strauss and Freud can be briefly summarized.

> The precision of fit between Freud and Levi-Strauss is striking. Kinship requires a division of the sexes. The Oedipal phase divides the sexes. Kinship systems include sets of rules governing sexuality. The Oedipal crises is the assimilation of these rules and taboos. Compulsory heterosexuality is the product of kinship. The Oedipal phase constitutes heterosexual

> desire. Kinship rests on a radical difference between the rights of men and women. The Oedipal complex confers male rights upon the boy and forces the girl to accommodate herself to lesser rights (Rubin 1975:198).

What is important here in supporting the thesis that *institutionalized* heterosexuality perpetuates male dominance is that Freud shows that exclusive heterosexual desire is learned, not innate.

The institution of heterosexuality and associated sanction of homosexuality is fundamentally oppressive. Oppression arises for two reasons. First, both men and women are oppressed because their acceptable choice of lovers is limited as people do not have the same freedom of choice to demonstrate love with a person of the same sex. But institutionalized heterosexuality is oppressive to women, rather than men, for another reason. Because of the economic dependency of women on men in general, relationships between women and men cannot be interdependent. Instead, as long as capitalist, patriarchal relations characterize the political economic form of production, heterosexuality as an institutionalized form of reproduction will be oppressive to women because women will have to depend on men's wages. Women will be taught to live and labour in relationships of economic dependence. It must be emphasized that heterosexual erotic expression in itself does not oppress women. What is oppressive to women is their lack of choice in sexual and economic partnership, and the resulting link between the only normatively allowable sexual expression, and economic dependence.

Closely associated with institutionalized heterosexuality and the resultant oppression of women are the nonbiological manifestations of gender, such as dress, deportment, and leisure pursuits. Certain stereotypic ways of behaving have been labelled "masculine" or "feminine", and it is expected that women and girls should be feminine, and men and boys should be masculine. Psychoanalyst Ethel Spector Person (1980) notes that there is an interrelationship between training in masculinity and femininity, and sexuality. Training a girl to be "feminine", without specifically teaching her about sexuality, can affect her sexual behavior. Person says:

> Gender launches the individual onto a specific psychosexual pathway. It is decisive for the shape of the oedipal

> configuration which is a crucial event in acculturation. In addition, socialization into passivity or activity, subordination or autonomy is decisive for the way sexuality (sensuality) is experienced, and for the fantasies that attach to it. Thus gender training, not just the previous record of sensual experience, molds sexuality (1980:50).

While Person does not extend her reasoning into the economic sphere, it is clear that gender training which prepares female children to be heterosexuals is thus preparation of women, as a group, to form sexual liaisons with those who are more economically powerful than they.

One purpose of femininity training is to prepare women to be mothers (Mitchell 1975). Little girls are taught to be nurturant and domestic so that, in the future, they will care for their husband, children and home. Because families and homes differ according to social class, femininity training varies according to social class as well. For instance, a daughter of the middle class might be taught that performing well in school is important, so that she can go to university and meet suitable marriage partners, while a working class girl (together with her brother) might have to conclude formal education after high school and go to work. Another class contrast lies in the age at which young women marry. Working class girls may be encouraged to marry early, often in order that they will no longer be economically dependent on their parents, while middle class girls are discouraged from an early marriage (Rapp 1982:173). Thus, among middle class women, the notion of autonomy and independence might be a stronger element in the social construction of femininity. Research on intra-class differences in Britain has shown, as well, that definitions of femininity represented in sexual conduct vary according to class location (McRobbie 1978).

But class differences aside, the result of institutionalized heterosexuality and stereotypic femininity training is the creation of the family unit based on heterosexual adult partnerships. In these partnerships, it is commonly women who undertake much of the parenting.

Motherhood

Many feminists have stated that the root of women's oppression is in their responsibility for mothering[33]. Radical feminist Shulamith Firestone's (1974) thesis is that if women are to be liberated, they must be freed from their biological responsibility for childbearing; that procreation and birth should become a technological, rather than human process. Dorothy Dinnerstein (1976) writes that 'human malaise' stems from the division of responsibility, opportunity and privilege between the sexes, with the most fundamental attribute of this division being the responsibility of women for childcare. Adrienne Rich (1976:13) criticizes the institution of motherhood because it ensures that women remain under male control. Pat Schultz (1982:124) notes that as long as women have primary responsibility for childcare, they will be less able to pursue job opportunities, and will be discriminated against on the job. All of these women, most of them mothers, optimistically speculate on the ways that women can overcome the oppression generated by socially constructed patterns of mothering, through better daycare, or by taking control of their bodies, or as a result of men choosing to participate in childcare, or together with the fight for socialism. The motherhood issue, whatever the prescription, is one which feminists have always dealt with, and must continue to address.

A primary assertion which must be discounted by feminists who wish to dissolve the sexual ordering in society is that women mother because of necessity. Anti-feminists of the past and today see women's procreative capacity as the determinant of her situation. It is only natural, according to conservatives and reactionaries that women should be childcarers. Any other arrangement would deny biology.

One group of feminists suggests that sex differences with regard to parenting behavior are a result of socialization, not biology. Maccoby and Jacklin (1974) for instance, report that

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[33] Mothering here indicates all the activities which are a part of raising a child, such as caring for physical needs, teaching, feeding and clothing. Almost all the tasks of mothering (except for breastfeeding, for example) can be performed by men, and all tasks can be performed by a woman who is not a biological parent. This could include parturition and labour, if a fertilized egg were implanted in the womb of a surrogate mother.

doll play, more predominant in girls because girls are given dolls to play with more often, leads to assimilation of the female gender role. These liberal feminists give very little ground to biology as a determiner of the fact that women are responsible for childcare.

Nancy Chodorow (1974, 1978) using a psychoanalytic perspective which takes account of biology, but also gives credence to the operation of psychological sex differences, has examined the reasons for primary parenting by women. Psychological differences according to Chodorow are not predetermined by biology, but result from the social fact that women mother. Children, both males and females, are cared for by women, and as a result of changes which go on throughout maturation, primarily during the oedipal period, they become gendered individuals [34]. The boy must replace his early identification with his mother by an identification with his father. Because the father usually works away from home[35], this identification is difficult for the boy. He must fantasize about his father's role, the male role. As well, he must reject his mother by denying his attachment to her. He therefore represses and devalues what he considers to be feminine within himself. He appropriates for himself cultural spheres such as the moral, religious and creative, which he considers to be masculine, and rejects the sphere of nature, which he designates as feminine. This all occurs at the level of the unconscious and has been called the 'oedipal crisis' (Chodorow 1974:50).

The development of the girl's oedipal crisis (articulated as an adjunct to the analysis of the boy's crisis by the Freudians) contrasts with the boy's because the female role is readily apparent to the child in the home. As well, the girl does not have to reject her early

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[34]These changes were first outlined by Freud, and have been alluded to above in reviewing Gayle Rubin's synthesis of Levi-Strauss and Freud.

[35] The assumptions built into the analysis described here are based on a western middle class, nuclear family wherein the father is the breadwinner and the mother works in the home. Thus Freudian theory has been charged with class and ethnocentric bias. But for Chodorow's points and the psychoanalytic view to be acceptable, the caretakers need not be biological mothers, and there can be more than one female caretaker (as in the Isreali kibbutz, for instance). As well, early identification between mother and child need not be as strong as in stereotypical nuclear families. The two assumptions which must hold regardless of the class or culture in which the child is raised are that women are devalued and that women are the primary childcarers. Freudian theory is salient whenever these assumptions are met (Harding 1981:157-8).

identification with her mother. Her pre-oedipal and oedipal gender identification is continuous. However, a discontinuity develops for the girl when she shifts her choice of sex-object from the primary sex-object, her mother, to her father and other males. This rejection occurs through the 'castration complex', when the girl discovers she lacks a penis, blames this on her mother, and rejects her.

This definition of the development of the female personality as based on the lack of a penis has incensed many feminists. But Chodorow, like Mitchell (1975), has recovered some of what Freud had to say, utilizing other Freudians such as Deutsch (1945). Her detailed consideration:

> reveals important features of female development especially about the mother-daughter relationship, and at the same time contradicts or mitigates the absoluteness of the more general Freudian outline (Chodorow 1974:52).

The relationship between mother and daughter, according to these later Freudians continues to involve the daughter's dependence on her mother during and after the oedipal phase. As well, the strength of the daughter's relationship with her mother is related to the father-daughter relationship, and thus the resolution in favor of the father remains "very tentative" (Chodorow 1974:53). Attachment to her mother continues to be important for the girl throughout her life.

Sex-role learning, or the socialization to which liberal feminists refer, builds on this unconsciously internalized gender identity. Chodorow's analysis merges an understanding of biology with socialization through role teaching and learning, by referring to the psychoanalytic process. She gives credence both to biology and to the conscious construction of gender through socialization, but links these through the theory of early unconscious internalization of relationships with the mother. Chodorow explains that women mother as a result of social learning *in the context of* unconscious internalization, and biological difference (1974:54). Her awareness of the inequality between the genders recommends her approach as superior to theories of parenting and child development which do not take account of the oppression of women.

The sex-role socialization which takes place at the conscious level during childhood and adolescence is grounded in the economy, history and culture of the society in which it takes place. Chodorow refers to a cross-cultural study of sex-role socialization (Barry, Bacon and Child 1957) which demonstrates variation according to socio-cultural factors. Yet sex differences manifest themselves in a general sense. Boys tend to be socialized toward achievement and self-reliance, while girls are socialized toward nurturance and responsibility. Girls become more dependent on and interdependent with others, while boys learn to deny this involvement with others. The adult male personality can be described as autonomous, and male socialization takes place within situations in which the individual is part of a larger social organization or system of bonds. Girls are socialized in situations in which the individual herself is the focus. Her personality becomes more communal. She is socialized under sharing, rather than institutional, hierarchic structures. In sum, she develops a greater need to merge and identify with others than does the boy.

These gendered personalities, in part created by female mothering, are not only different, but stratified. The fact that women mother leads to the devaluation of women. More specifically, during the oedipal crisis, boys learn to identify with men partly through rejecting women. They come to ridicule all things feminine, in order to differentiate themselves from femininity. This devaluation of women is typical of patriarchal cultures. It must be recognized, however, that primary parenting by women is a social construction, and that even within patriarchal cultures, there are many instances of primary parenting by men. Some contemporary families are headed by a lone father (Hisgrave 1982). In many families, fathers have taken over parenting activities formerly performed by women, often as a result of the extra responsibilities which mothers have taken on in the paid workforce. Russell's (1983) description of non-traditional, two-parent families in which fathers are highly participant in childcare and mothers are employed outside the home shows that there is a considerable range in levels of father participation in parenting. Fathers and mothers who share parenting reported to Russell that the fathers had a better relationship with their children, and that the

mothers derived increased independence and personal satisfaction from their paid work (Russell 1983:204). Evidence about the effects of shared parenting on children is divided. Hetherington (1965) determined that boys who are stereotypically masculine have fathers who are more traditional, decisive, and dominant, but that the development of femininity is not affected by variations in the division of parental power. However, more recent study has shown that if a father encourages his daughter to model his intellectual efforts and achievement motivation, he can heighten these attributes in his daughter (Radin 1976). Though the class restricted nature of this latter possibility is apparent, Radin's study points out that as parenting changes, fathers can take more direct responsibility for their daughters' development. The personality development of the sexes under these conditions would be altered[36].

The development of differentiated personalities, and stratified sexes, as a result of mothering (primary parenting) by women reproduces itself with each generation. The girl, with a greater need to merge with others than the boy because of the importance of emotional affectivity in both mother-daughter and father-daughter relationships, frequently cannot find fulfillment through her husband, who has not internalized the same needs. In general, women have learned to desire and demand more intimate emotional and personal bonds than men desire and demand. Chodorow suggests that in order to fulfill their needs to identify with and relate to others, women bear children. These children, mothered by women, internalize gendered personalities and an understanding of sex hierarchy, and the pattern is repeated.

The impact of the economy on the assignment of childcare responsibilities does not have to be discounted in the psychoanalytic account. In answer to the question "Why do women mother?" Chodorow and other psychoanalytic theorists can answer that mothering by women is partly due to the influence of the economy.

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[36]Alteration in parenting can reflect a change in style of parenting, as well as the amount of parenting. Traditionally, men have fathered through expressing affection for their daughters and stimulating their sons (Parke 1981:44) (through such activities as sports, in which men often play the primary parenting role). These traditional patterns encourage stereotypic gender development. More time spent on fathering using traditional parenting styles would do little to change the development of personalities in sterotypic ways.

> Family organization, childcare and childrearing practices and the relations between women's childcare and other responsibilities change in response particularly to changes in the organization of production . . . . Sexual inequality is in itself embedded in and separated by the organization of these institutions, and is not reproduced according to or solely because of the will of individual actors (Chodorow 1978:32-34).

This passage illustrates the conjunction between socialist feminist theory and psychoanalytic theory. While some psychoanalytic theorists have ignored the changing mode of production over time[37], others such as Mitchell (1975) have utilized the insights of Marx and Freud. The union of Marxism and psychoanalytic theory creates a body of thought which identifies the historical and material structures which delimit sexuality and gender at any given period.

The above arguments show that in answer to the strict determinists who say that female anatomy is destiny, and women and only women must mother, feminists can raise a three pronged objection. First, socialization, or conscious role-learning plays a large part in the preparation of children for their adult roles. Second, unconscious processes during infancy and childhood generate gender differentiated personalities, which are amenable to the acquisition of sex roles. And finally, economic forms require and encourage gender differentiated productive and reproductive roles. Indeed, the feminist has a large arsenal with which to combat statements that women's oppression is natural. But it is not enough for feminists to determine why women mother. A further motherhood issue which requires theoretical formulation is: how does mothering oppress women? What are the processses which generate unequal power? Why does a task which, for individuals, (both mothers and children) can be emotionally rewarding and fulfilling lead to subordination of the people who perform it?

Chodorow, in her explanation of the development of gendered personalities indicates one way in which sex oppression is perpetuated by mothering. In rejecting his mother, the young boy comes to reject the feminine, and this rejection, replicated in all males, comes to

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[37] For Dorothy Dinnerstein (1976), male responsibility for the extra-domestic world arises out of biological necessity, not because of power relations which have been socially constructed by men. She says that "the structure of the (sexual) division of labour has been mandatory, given our physical past" (1976:177).

permeate society. The female, continuing to identify with her mother, internalizes this rejection, and thinks of herself as inferior.

> the mother inevitably represents to her daughter (and son) repression, passivity, dependence and lack of orientation to reality, whereas the father represents progression, activity, independence and reality orientation. Given the value implications of this dichotomy, there are advantages for the son in giving up his mother and identifying with his father. For the daughter, feminine gender identification means identification with a devalued, passive mother . . . (Chodorow 1974:65).

This passage presents the psychoanalytic explanation for gender inequality resulting from female mothering.

But there is another, conscious way in which mothering perpetuates women's oppression. Dorothy Smith (1981a) articulates this process. She shows how middle class mothers assure that their sons and daughters are trained for the capitalist economy. Middle class children learn how to behave and get ahead in school, and therefore are able to reach higher levels of education, which in turn assists them in maintaining their class positions.

> In general, middle class mothers are both expected to and do spend a great deal of time and work around the organization of time to facilitate the children's work in school and in developing their children's skills in nonspecific ways summed up in 'cultural background' or 'language abilities'. . . . Mothers train their children in the responsibilities of schoolwork, in scheduling, in mood control, in the organization of physical behavior adapting them to the classroom (Smith 1981a:344).

This is work that is necessary to capitalism. As well, by preparing middle class children to fit into the capitalist system, mothers prepare them to continue a system that is based on the sexual division of labour[11].

Working class mothers also help to carry on the class structure. Luxton (1980) has documented the contributions that the women of Flin Flon, Manitoba, wives of mine workers,

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[11] However, the same sort of preparation of a child who was attending an educational institution which trained children in alternate, noncapitalistic ideology might serve as a challenge to capitalism, and therefore to patriarchy. Mothers who send their children to open schools, run on socialist-feminist principles for instance, might be part of a movement to revolutionize capitalist patriarchy.

make to reproduction of the labour force. As the women themselves know, wives' contributions in the home, keeping their husbands and children fed, clothed and ready to return to school or work, is absolutely necessary if capitalist industries are to continue. Again, by facilitating production in the economy, these women perpetuate status quo reproductive relations, including sex inequality. The domestic labour of working class wives, together with mothering by women, perpetuates women's oppression[9].

Dual Systems Theory and Human Struggle

Even as women's oppression is perpetuated by social institutions (socially constructed heterosexuality and mothering, the separation between work and home together with the commodification of female labour), women struggle to resist oppression. Dual systems theory suggests that there are two objectives of struggle: the overthrow of the class structure and capitalism, and the creation of equal genders. The Marxist influence within dual systems theory leads to normative suggestions regarding class struggle, while feminism influences discussion of gender struggle. It must be underlined here that dual systems theory is a theory of struggle, not merely a description of structures and fated relationships. Hartmann says "As feminist socialists, we must organize a practice which addresses both the struggle against patriarchy and the struggle against capitalism" (1981:33), indicating that human agency is a vital component of a world defined by capitalist patriarchal boundaries.

At times the struggle to end class inequality merges with women's efforts to end their own oppression, as in movements of working class women to improve the conditions of their

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[9] Here a cautionary note must be sounded. Feminists, realizing the strong influence of women as mothers, have in some cases placed too much importance on mothering. Their analyses of mothering, and mothers, have caricatured the impact of mothers, and have been overly critical. The reverse of this problem has occurred as well, when feminists have written that, in the absence of economic constraints forcing women to mother, women could *choose* to mother, and those that did could create an idyllic world for themselves and future generations. If feminist theory is to advance, the two-way relationship between mother and child must be recognized, allowing that mothers do teach, control and manipulate children, but recognizing the powers of children as well. Feminists must also overcome the quite easily induced rage at mothering, and at mothers, which grows as one confronts the engendering process (See Chodorow and Contratto, 1982).

labour at home or in the paid workplace. But more frequently, feminist struggles have been waged by middle class women, and class struggles have not addressed gender discrimination. Labour movements in the late nineteenth century favored the restriction of women to the private sphere. In contemporary society some labour leaders still see the employment of women as undesirable[40]. Bacchi (1983) in a history of the women's suffrage movement in Canada demonstrates the middle class basis of the feminist fight for the vote. These and other examples show that there are two locations of struggle against capitalist patriarchy.

There are also two levels of struggle: issues must be addressed at both the personal and the collective level. Because the material basis of patriarchy resides in the social organization of sexuality and mothering, it is just as important to address structural relations between two people (for instance a man and a woman in a marriage) as to confront the relations between the owners and the workers. Similarly, the social interaction between a boss and his employee provides just as much promise for social change as a battle against the patriarchal state by the women's movement. While the roots of inequality and oppression lie in the relations between collective groups (classes or genders) these relations are enacted and represented in microsocial mileux. It is important not to leave the individual out of the collectivity.

This emphasis on the individual illuminates the Marxism within dual systems theory. The individual woman or man is often lost in abstract Marxist constructs which cast two opposing classes, the proletariat and the bourgeosie, against each other. Though Marx's writings can be interrogated for their focus on the individual and human agency[41], there is a tendency within contemporary Marxism to de-emphasize the influence of individuals over time. As Mary O'brien puts it:

> The question of the individual is one which produces a number of kneejerk responses from many Marxists: cries of bourgeois

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[40]A spokesman for the "Dandelions", a mostly male group of unemployed labourers, voiced his belief that unemployment should be addressed because it causes wives to have to go out and work (Edmonton Journal. May 2, 1985, p B1).

[41]See Archibald (1985) who treats the development of theories of individuation in Marx's discussions of various stages of human history, though with little awareness of the masculinist bias within Marx's writings.

> individualism, subjectivism and psychologism rend the air . . . (1984:94).

In contrast, a dual systems theory of socialist feminism places emphasis on individual human agents. This is due in part to the commonalities which socialist feminism shares with liberal feminism. As Jaggar (1983) points out, the liberal emphasis on the freely thinking individual has affected socialist feminist analysis of the importance of the individual within the collectivity. Eisenstein (1981) sketches the influence of nineteenth century liberalism on contemporary feminism, including socialist feminism[42]. The individual, microsocial emphasis within Marxist theory, together with the focus on individual rights of liberals, have been reclaimed by socialist feminists who employ a dual systems theory.

One direction in which an examination of microsocial relations allows analysis to expand is toward an evaluation of the conscious and the unconscious processes in individuals, as they relate to the social world. The study of the individual is conjoined with the study of the social structure within psychoanalysis. When the psychoanalytic approach is imbued with the insights of Marxism and feminism, it becomes a useful tool for the study of the individual within capitalism and patriarchy. Lewis (1985:120) in a review of the debates over the conjunctions of capitalism and patriarchy calls for the use of psychoanalytic theory as a method of illuminating many as yet obscure issues. But a dual systems theory can make use of psychoanalytic insights not only for analysis, but also to provide prescriptive statements. The final chapter of Juliet Mitchell's Psychoanalysis and Feminism on "the Cultural Revolution" suggests that a specific struggle against patriarchal ideology, as perpetuated in the unconscious through the bourgeoise family, must be waged. Nancy Chodorow (1978) makes specific recommendations about the restructuring of parenting in order to undermine capitalist patriarchy. Such insights enrich unidimensional Marxist statements about the future.

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[42]An example of a liberal individualist claim which is shared by both liberal and socialist feminists is that the decisions surrounding pregnancy and abortion should be made by individual women using their human rights to control their own bodies (Eisenstein 1981:237-8).

Finally, because dual systems theory focusses on struggles between individuals and between collectivities, and takes account of subjective consciousness and even the unconscious, this theoretical position extends to analysis of culture. Cultural forms such as literature and sport affect the individual consciousness most immediately. Ideology plays a prominent role in a dual systems analysis of labour. As indicated in chapter one, cultural forms play an important role in the reproduction of economic relations. Dual systems theory recognizes the independent struggles of women to change their own consciousness. The primacy given to women's consciousness is necessary to a discussion of culture as well.

Conclusion

The material basis of capitalist patriarchy has been addressed. In summary, capitalist patriarchy is maintained firstly by the capitalist division of labour characterized by a sphere of reproductive labour for women and a sphere of paid labour for men. These relations also consist of ghettoized paid labour for women. Secondly, patriarchal reproductive relations comprise the institutionalization of heterosexuality, the social construction of femininity and masculinity, and primary parenting by women. Four components of capitalist patriarchy have thus been analyzed: the capitalist separation between work and home and the commodification of female labour which characterize productive labour relations, as well as sexuality and motherhood which characterize relations of reproduction.

There is an ongoing debate about the nature of the material basis of capitalist patriarchy. Though many theorists have rejected the use of dual systems terminology, consideration of material relations with respect to gender in capitalist societies still turns on the question of the past and future relationship between capitalist productive relations and reproductive relations. Whether or not these reproductive relations are termed "patriarchal" and given credence as a "system" can be seen as a semantic nicety, if theorization and debate are engaged in without the benefit of thorough historical, comparative and descriptive analysis of productive and reproductive labour, including all cultural forms. Until the skeletal

theoretical development which has taken place within socialist feminist theory is fleshed out, the debate over the autonomy of patriarchy from capitalism cannot mature. Examining specific instances of capitalist patriarchal relations, especially the very human struggles in which men and women, as well as class and gender groups participate is necessary to the further growth of socialist feminist theory. Therefore, in succeeding chapters, the relationship between four components of capitalist patriarchy will be discussed with respect to gender inequality in sports participation, and the struggles in support of equality in sports[43].

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[43] Most recently, the debate on sex and class has occurred within the pages of New Left Review and Studies in Political Economy (See Brenner and Ramas 1984; Barrett 1984; Armstrong and Armstrong 1983a; Connelly, 1983; and Lewis, 1985). While all authors reject the use of "dual systems theory" with regard to their own work, Brenner and Ramas (1984) and the Armstrongs (1983) contend that Barrett (1980) has essentially taken a dualist position. But Brenner and Ramas (1984), in their advocacy of a greater consideration of the biological and its relationship with the social world, state that "We must now consider how the development of capitalism may have altered this relationship" (Brenner and Ramas 1984:48). This statement assumes that a system constructed on a bio-social foundation can exist autonomously from capitalism, which can "alter" the relationship between the natural and the social. Though there is a solid interpenetration of the sexual division of labour (based as it is on "the exigencies of biological reproduction") with the capitalist division of labour by class, the material bases of these divisions are theoretically and practically separable. But, until further data are gathered and analyzed carefully, there will be no theoretical resolution. Jane Lewis (1985) summarizes nicely: "It is difficult to see how much more progress can be made in building theory without more rigorous attention to historical evidence".

Chapter III

SPORT AND PRODUCTIVE LABOUR

A consideration of productive labour with respect to gender differentiation in Canadian sport need not begin in a scholarly vacuum. There is a substantial body of theory and empirical analysis which lays the groundwork for a socialist feminist discussion of Canadian sport in the context of the division of labour which results in social class. One such strand of scholarship is grounded in Marxism and social history. It is exemplified by the work of Gruneau (1975; 1976; 1978; 1983), Beamish (1975; 1982) Kidd (1978; 1982) and Palmer (1983). In these socio-historical analyses of sports and other leisure pursuits in nineteenth century Canada, sports have been seen as a terrain upon which class struggles arising from productive relations in capitalism have been carried out. As the Canadian nation state developed and as the economy industrialized, opposing class interests became apparent. Resultant struggles were manifest, for example, in the 1837 rebellion (See Whitaker 1977), and in the struggle over the school system of Upper Canada in the 1830's and 1840's (See Prentice 1977a). These conflicts between the aristocrats and growing numbers of bourgeoisie were enacted, in part, on the sporting fields. Conflicts between the working class and other classes pertained to sports, too. The history of sport in Canada has been read by some as a history of class conflict and compromise.

Class and Gender Struggles in Sport: The Separation between Work and Home

Much of the social study of sport which has regarded labour as important has focussed solely on productive labour in the workplace, and the ensuing development of social class. Little or no account has been taken of the insertion of productive relations into the world alongside reproductive labour in the home. This is especially evident in historical studies of social class and sport. Students of Canadian sport history who have been cognizant of class relations have usually sketched a limited picture of the productive workplace and its male subjects. Conversely, where women have been the focus of study, little awareness of the

effects of social class has been indicated. In other words, the real separation between work and home has affected the study of sport in society. Sociologists and historians, when they have taken labour into account, have tended to focus on one work location and to ignore the other. A review of socio-historical literature reveals such inadequacies.

Historical Precedents

Richard Gruneau (1983) alludes to the class struggle over the training of the younger generation in the context of sports and games. He has discerned bourgeois and aristocratic class efforts to control the increasingly numerous lower classes in the development of rules regarding when and where people could play games. "Play in the streets was made illegal, as was play on the sabbath" (Gruneau 1983:102). Similar class tensions can be seen in the new Canadian private schools of the time, which were modelled after British Public Schools. Gruneau points out that these private schools represented a compromise between the declining aristocratic ruling class, and the growing industrial bourgeoisie.

What remains unexplained by Gruneau in a sporting context, or by anyone else, is the impact of this coalition on *gender* deference and *gender* distance in Canada. The conflict and eventual compromise between aristocrats and bourgeoisie had strong gender-based undertones. Cosentino and Howell (1970) in a history of physical education in Canada, and Gruneau (1983:104) quote Hodgins (1910), who makes the maintenance of gender stratification at Upper Canada College clear:

> (It was the) desire of Sir John Colborne to foster in the new institution a love of the old, manly British field sports, a love which has always been characteristic of the English Public School men and is, indeed, to the present day. And so in obtaining the services of English graduates for the College, Sir John not only obtained men who had the highest educational qualifications, but also those who would encourage and stimulate among the boys a love of healthy and manly games, which the astute governor rightly judged to be a powerful factor in developing among the lads a healthy self-reliant spirit that would fit them to cope in after years with the many arduous and difficult problems incidental to the development of a new country (Cosentino and Howell 1971:10; Gruneau

1983:103; From Hodgins 1910:198).

Cosentino and Howell are correct in stating that this passage indicates how the "salvation through sports" concept had been transferred from England to Canada. Gruneau advances their interpretation greatly by recognizing Hodgins' statement as an ideological review of toryism, and by suggesting that Upper Canada College sports such as cricket offered a "ritual dramatization of the power of the colonial metropolis and the class interests associated with it" (Gruneau 1983:104). But what is also apparent is gender exclusivity. The British public schools, and Upper Canada College fostered *manly* sports so that *males* would be fit to cope with the new country. It should be emphasized that Upper Canada College did not 'save' girls through this kind of sport. While class pressures are very important in the development of nineteenth century education and sports, gender has an equal, if unrecognized impact. All of this is made clearer when one takes both the class and gender division of labour, and the associated separation between work and home, into account.

Bryan Palmer has also demonstrated the class struggle evident within sports practices of the adult male population after 1860. Palmer's (1979) study of skilled workers in Hamilton, Ontario between 1860 and 1914 indicates that baseball in particular was popular among working men of this period. Men from shopfloors and factories, and especially from craft unions usually had a baseball team (1979:52). Sport was part of a "structured realm of associational life" that in Palmer's estimation, helped create the cultural continuity which was useful in pressing for working class reforms, and in partially resisting the more onerous effects of capitalism (1979:38).

But a rereading of Canadian sport history which takes account of the position of women in the home, separated from the productive workplace, draws into question encompassing statements made about the importance of sport in raising class consciousness. Assessments of the potency of culture in creating a basis for political action must always be qualified with reference to gender and the sexual division of labour. This qualification has not usually been made. For instance, Palmer has said:

> Cultural continuities, then, testify to the basic resiliency of working people in the face of the industrial capitalist transformation of the nineteenth century. . . the essential cultural continuity must be seen as the background of coherence against which new forms of working-class protest evolved (Palmer 1979:38).

The cultural forms to which Palmer is referring are ordinarily engaged in by and for men. They include funeral attendance amongst fellow male workers, the mechanics institute, sporting fraternities, fire companies and working men's clubs, and less formal occasions such as drinking beer in pubs for men only. Yet the gender restricted nature of all of this for Palmer is unremarkable. It is of consequence that these cultural continuities existed for working *men*, not working *people* and that therefore they provided a backdrop to the protest of a certain fragment of the working class: men[44]. Such male culture was associated with the world of work which was separated from the isolated women's world of the home. Here we see the impact of capitalist productive relations on gender, and the effect of these gender separations on culture. The separation between the world of productive work and the private sphere of the home has had a major impact on class and gender relations.

The criticism of Palmer's lack of attention to gender is not to dispute his fundamental point that cultural forms can be a creative and inspirational source of change in social structure. But when, through culture, class consciousness is raised for only a portion of a class, then division occurs. The division between men and women in the working class based on the separation between their respective places of work can be seen in much of the history of labour protest. Many individual men have been constrained in their level of political activity because of acquiescence to a wife who did not see the value of protest. And collective job

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[44]A gender analysis is implicit in much of Palmer's work, however. Though he subtitles his book "Skilled Workers . . . ", many of his references are to the "skilled working man". Because of the generic use of the term "man", it is hard to know whether Palmer is referring to women or not, but presumably he did intend to connote just men. And at times his choice of adverb reveals the truth about gender

> By the early twentieth century, it is true, realms of this culture would be *emasculated* (Palmer 1979:38, emphasis added).

actions have sometimes foundered because of lack of support from workers' wives.

These studies of nineteenth century Canadian sport which point out the implications of sport in class constitution and struggle provide necessary insights. The critique of such unabashedly male-centered research which focusses on the productive workplace begins a socialist feminist analysis. But there is a second source of historical data to evaluate. This is the scholarly research which has concerned the participation of women and girls in sport. There has been scant evidence collected to date about schoolgirls' sports in Canada in the nineteenth century[45]. However the evidence which has been compiled indicates class and gender differentiation within both public and private schools in the provision of sport, and more broadly physical education. Lenskyj's chapter (1983:chapter five) concerning the implementation of physical education for girls in Ontario between 1890 and 1930 notes that the function of the private "ladies' colleges" was distinct from that of similar schools for young men of the upper classes. The principal of the Brantford Ladies College, for instance, stated categorically that the demands of a young lady's social life prevented her from having an education similar to a young man's (MacIntyre 1885 quoted in Lenskyj 1983:201).

Carolyn Gossage corroborates the notion of the finishing school atmosphere in the early independent schools (as their advocates preferred them to be called) for girls. Comparing the boys of the mid-century to the girls, Gossage states:

> For the Christian Gentlewoman on the other hand, the development of social refinement was often more important than either athletic skills or team spirit. Although advanced courses in music and art were offered in addition to the regular academic curriculum, it was not until the 1880's or later that organized competitive sports for girls were introduced. According to the image of Victorian womanhood, anything much more strenuous than croquet was frowned upon (Gossage 1977:62).

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[45]An important recent volume is Gurney (1979). Helen Lenskyj's (1983) dissertation is the most scholarly work to date. Other sources include Hall and Richardson (1982:Chapter 3), and Cochrane et al, (1977) which include some reference to school sport in their broader descriptive histories of women's and girls' sport in general. However, there has been no comprehensive analysis of the social history of female sport in the nineteenth century in Canada.

It is implicit in such accounts that the girls of these schools were being trained for their class responsibilities together with their gender responsibilities. Private school girls were taught that their role as "ladies" was to be ornamental, refined, and well-mannered. Such qualities were required of women whose major responsibility (after producing heirs) was to enhance their husbands' social and economic status through entertaining business associates in the home. However, explicit class analysis has not been made prominent in studies of the history of women's sport, to date. One reason for this is that these studies have not been grounded in a theory of labour, the sexual division of labour, and the capitalist separation between work and home.

The image of the girls' private school as a preparation for the domestic responsibilities of the upper class woman is corroborated by the work of McCrone (1982) concerning sport in private girls' schools in Britain. McCrone (1982) and Gossage (1977) together with the early historical work of Hall (1968) illustrate the theme which is explicit throughout the studies of women's sport in the nineteenth and early twentieth century in Canada. This theme is the escalating call for the rights of women and girls to participate in sports and physical activity. Just as class theorists have recognized that class demands have manifested themselves in conflict over the structure of sport, historians concerned with women have noted that claims about sport have been a part of the attempt to win gender equality. In sport, the struggle centered on the meaning of "femininity" and "masculinity". In general, physical educators prior to the turn of the century argued that females could participate in sports and games without losing their femininity. A similarly conservative world view was promoted by middle and upper class suffragists who felt that women, because of their feminine qualities, would use the vote wisely. These reformers were not arguing for a redefinition of femininity (or masculinity), but instead suggested that new forms of participation in the public world (sports or politics), if carefully controlled, would enhance femininity. This view was associated with the class background of its advocates. In the middle and upper classes, traditional femininity

and associated sex-role stereotyping was achievable and economically efficient[46]. The separation between work and home and the identification of women with the home was quite possible for middle class families. Working class women were compelled to soil their hands in paid labour, and could not afford to remain "ladylike" and passive at home.

In order to justify sport as "feminine" and acceptable, specific rationales were used. McCrone, for instance, makes the point that when activities such as cricket, hockey, tennis and lacrosse did become incorporated into the school programs, they were lauded on the basis of their health promoting properties. Headmistresses ensured that behavioral rules were followed, and that players remained polite. Retaining one's femininity while participating in sports was a way of compensating for the fact that there was an association between sport and masculinity. One instance of compensation is described by McCrone:

> . . . Early Somervillians were allowed to play tennis on the hall lawn; but when they were invited to a tennis party elsewhere they were 'conveyed in a closed cab since it was not considered decorous . . . to be seen walking through the streets of Oxford with a racquet' (Byrne and Mansfield 1921 in McCrone 1982:15).

Such behaviors helped to maintain the differences between the sexes upon which inequality was based.

But as the nineteenth century ended in Britain, there is evidence of an emergent challenge to male superiority and feminine passivity within girls' private school sports. McCrone comments that the battles for women's rights and equality were fought on the sports grounds and in the gymnasiums as well as in the lecture halls. She indicates that there was a feminist dimension to girls' school games. Such an emergent challenge to feminine domesticity and the work/home separation might be discoverable at independent girls' schools in Canada, too. Preliminary indication of feminism within sports ideology can be found in Gossage's

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[46]See Bacchi (1983) for a discussion of the class division within the suffrage movement in Canada. Hall (1968:61) suggests that sport was one vehicle through which "an extremely limited (group of) young, wealthy and generally more favoured suffragists could obtain their freedom".

history of Bishop Strachan, Canada's oldest continuing independent girls' school. Helen Acres, a headmistress at Bishop Strachan studied developments in women's education in Britain, and in 1899 made basketball, cricket and lacrosse a part of the curriculum (Gossage 1977:106). Perhaps Acres was influenced by the incipient feminism of British girls' schools in her innovative efforts. There is also some indication of physical activity and certain games being part of the curriculum at Halifax Ladies College, Trafalgar School in Montreal, Edgehill in Windsor Nova Scotia, and Toronto's Havergal (which housed an early "swimming bath") before the turn of the century.

The lessons of history can teach us something about contemporary Canadian sport. If class and gender struggles of the past are seen in relation to each other through making the separation between workplace and home a consideration, new insights and deeper vision becomes available to us. Before proceeding to a specific analysis of class and gender distinction in Canadian sport today with specific reference to the separation between productive labour in the workplace and reproductive labour in the home, it is fruitful to trace out the implications of history. Class struggles and gender struggles over structure and meanings associated with Canadian sport are similar in some ways. But in other ways these struggles arise in contradiction to each other, and have contradictory results. The similarities and contradictions will now be outlined further.

Struggles over women's sport, and over bourgeoisie and workers' sport in the nineteenth century were similar in three ways. First, both resulted from changes which had taken place in the western world in association with the separation between work and home as a result of the rise of industrial capitalism. Most important was an increase in the leisure time[47] available to the working class, and to middle class women. Decreased weekly factory labour for working class males, as Palmer (1979) has pointed out, allowed time to be spent at pursuits such as baseball. Some women's leisure time also increased due to technological improvements and urbanization. Women of the middle classes benefitted from industrialization through

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[47] Here "leisure" refers simply to time away from the tasks necessary for subsistence. Even the concept of leisure itself grew as a result of capitalism.

labour saving devices, while working class women who moved in large numbers into factory work gained a few hours of time free from paid or domestic labour (Cohen 1984).

A second factor associated with work, home, class and gender changes in the late nineteenth century is the increased emphasis on scientific rationality. As capitalism advanced, the logical relationship between means and ends was consciously sought out and rational policies were implemented in the workplace. Such an emphasis was transferred to leisure pursuits, as well, and rule-making and organizing became paramount (Ingham 1975). With rules came conflict over these regulations. The class debates over appropriate times and places to play have already been mentioned (Gruneau 1983:102). Similar struggles to rationalize women's play went on within the private girls' schools. McCrone comments:

> By 1914 the women's colleges at Oxford and Cambridge had an elaborate athletic structure. A complicated series of university, college, hall and old students' clubs in a variety of sports selected teams, arranged practices and matches, obtained coaches, made rules and awarded caps and colours, and there was a similarly complicated range of competition from the university level down through the colleges, halls, years and subjects of study. Students involved in making the system work undoubtedly gained organizational experience of use in later life (McCrone, 1982:17).

Such organization is evidence of the increasing emphasis on rationality throughout daily life as industrial capitalism advanced[11].

A third causal factor which affected both class and gender structure was increased opportunity for education. Educational historians (See Stamp 1970; Prentice 1977) have pointed out that as Canada industrialized, there was a greater need for a better educated and healthier workforce. Families could not provide the scientific and technical education which became necessary for workers in the late nineteenth century. As well, because of urbanization and associated health problems, school authorities began to promote physical and health education as an antidote to ill health and physical weakness (Stamp 1970:301). This change is

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[11]Kidd (1978) makes similar points about the effects of the increase in leisure time and rationalization on the development of Canadian sport. He does not, however, refer specifically to gender.

particularly salient in the development of sport, because much of sport has been associated with the schools. As more children of both sexes and from a greater variety of social classes attended school for longer periods of time, they had more opportunities to engage in sports. Indeed, games and physical activity were seen by teachers of girls and boys in the private and public schools as necessary for a full education, partly in order to prepare them as workers.

Class and gender struggles in nineteenth century Canadian sport had similar antecedents. These struggles also pertained to the same theme - the proper use of the body. While the class contestation centered on where, when, and with whom the body should be used, the gender struggle focussed more on how the body should be used. For instance, central to all the debates surrounding female sport participation was the clothing worn by athletes, and the potential for physical activity to reveal the female body unclothed (See Lenskyj 1983; Hall 1968; Cochrane et al, 1977). Discussion about sport differs from debate concerning other cultural endeavors because it is not ideas or artifacts which are at issue, but the body itself. The nineteenth century feminist who called for women's cricket hidden behind the gates of the private school and the factory labourer who wanted to play in the streets on Sundays were similar in that both were advocating the acceptance of a certain use of the body.

Because those engaged in these struggles were advocating emergent *ideas*, we can recognize, lastly, that a significant part of both conflicts has been ideological. In the late nineteenth century, the dominant aristocratic notions of the amateur code were countered by residual ideas concerning the preservation of folk games, and the emergent ideology of professionalism within class struggle. The residual notion of femininity-as-passivity was countered by a domininant notion of the femininity of healthy physical activity, and by emergent ideas regarding the respectability of competition among females (see McCrone 1982). In both instances of struggle, the prospect of hegemonic incorporation of emergent ideologies is apparent. This process of incorporation resulted in dominant groups (eg. men and the dominant classes) taking on some of the values of the underclasses. The dominant ideology was thus modified, allowing subordinate groups to come to believe in it, and hegemony

continued.

As has been shown, there are three broad similarities between the class and gender struggles over sport. First, the struggles have the same antecedents: increased leisure time, the emphasis on rationality, and increased levels of education for the workforce. Second, both struggles concern the proper use of the body. Third, both struggles have a significant ideological component. The similarities become apparent when the separations imposed by capitalism such as the sexual division of labour and the division between work and home are not allowed to obscure the vision of the social historian. Recognition of the artificiality of a study which limits itself only to productive labourers encourages a broader consideration of the links between productive labour and reproductive labour. Similarly, perceiving the lack of sophistication in a study which focusses on women but does not take into account their social class will motivate a more comprehensive analysis, as well. The analysis of the separation between work and home can theoretically underpin these more illuminating explorations. Here it has been suggested that this underpining reveals similarities between class and gender struggles related to sport.

As well, even as these similarities become apparent, contradictions between class and gender struggles are also revealed. The class struggle resulting from the process of commodification of labour in some ways contradicts the gender struggle which reflects the patriarchal separation between work and home and the associated identification of women with the home and men with the workplace. The major contradiction at the level of patriarchal capitalist economic relations is that patriarchy has perpetuated the association of women with the home and reproductive labour, while capitalism requires many workers (including women) to become productive wage labourers. This contradiction has its greatest effect on women, who retain their responsibilities for domestic labour while taking on additional responsibilities for productive labour. As well, the contradiction has resulted in antagonism between women and men, when women have demanded equal access to the workplace, and to equality within it, and when men have fought against the inclusion of women in the paid workplace (see Hartmann

1981).

This contradiction has manifested itself in sport. The commodification of labour led to increased class consciousness, and unions and loose class groupings eventually organized workers' sports. But because the majority of wage labourers were male, the rise of workers' sports meant the rise of male sports. The more available that sport became to the male working class, the more "masculine" it became (Sheard and Dunning 1973). Rather than being an aristocratic ritual, sport began to dramatize maleness and masculinity. This is not to say that female participation in sport decreased. Indeed, it increased. But, with growing numbers of males of all classes participating in sport, sport was much less circumscribed by class. Instead, gender became the relevant social characteristic. So the demands for women's sport occurred during a time when sport became more and more entrenched as as masculine activity, and less an expression of class privilege.

This contradiction is described by Sheard and Dunning (1973). These authors, however, see the emphasis on masculinity as a reaction to the growth of women's emancipation, rather than as a result of the commodification of labour and the increased presence of working class males in sport. The women's "invasion" into the public world (including sport) constituted a threat to male identity, according to the authors, and was countered by the development of a "masculine" subculture which included the breaking of taboos and resulting objectification and vilification of women. While this thesis of Sheard and Dunning's is important in that it acknowledges the contradictions between males and females in sport, it is incomplete because it does not trace the original, socio-economic basis to the calls for women's emancipation. As industrialization proceeded, women joined the public world of the labour market in both working class and middle class jobs. Women began to permeate the boundary between work and home, and began to recognize the oppression of women at work and within the home. The entrance into the world of sport was part of a concerted foray into the public world of production which also included the demand for the vote. But these political efforts, and the reaction of males to the rise of feminism both had their roots in the growth of

industrial capitalism[49].

In sum, then, the concentration on labour and the work/home separation reveals that while the struggles for workers' sports and for women's sports were similar in their antecedents, their emphasis on the body, and their ideological focus, in some ways the emergence of male workers' sport contradicted the rise of middle and upper class women's sports. The increasing association of sports with "masculinity", no matter what the class of sportsmen, was antithetic to the notion that sport could be "feminine". As well, where women did make inroads into sports, as they did in private schools, their progress can be seen to contradict the progress of worker's movements with respect to sport. A feminist call for competitive sports participation within private girls' schools is a challenge to the gender structure, specifically the association of women with passive domesticity in the home which at the same time helps to perpetuate class structure. Educating upper class girls in the traditions of power (through encouraging their competition in sport) could have exploded the core of male dominance, but such "progressive" activity might also have solidified power in the hands of families at the top of the class structure. By acquiescing to the bourgeoise feminist challenge to male superiority, upper class men could defuse any collective challenge on the part of women and males in the working class.

Contemporary Canada

The categories which have been used to analyze sport in nineteenth century Canada can be used to understand contemporary Canadian sport, as well. A most notable change in sports participation in the last one hundred years is in the style of participation by women. Indeed, even in the past twenty years, there have been tremendous changes in the way female athletes present themselves, in the confidence with which they perform, and in the performances they achieve. Of great significance is the clothing worn, especially by women in team sports.

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[49] Sheard and Dunning do refer to changes in the male labour force as a result of industrialisation. However, their economic analysis does not extend to the labour of women.

Lightweight brief shorts and sleeveless shirts very similar to men's attire have replaced knee length (or longer) woolen jumpers worn with long sleeved blouses. This change in women athletes' dress, while seemingly superficial, is indicative of a more deep-seated transformation for women. Women have in past decades gained a significant amount of freedom in their bodily deportment, and in their presentation of themselves. No longer do swimmers, for instance, wear a demure panelled swim suit with a "skirt", but instead wear a body hugging, lightweight and much "faster" suit[50]. Performance times have decreased correspondingly. All of this is evidence of the struggle over the appropriate use of the body which, as indicated above, began in the nineteenth century. Just as appropriate street dress for women has changed, clothing for women athletes has become much less restrictive. There is no significant difference between the clothing which women and men wear for land sports today[51]. This is directly related to the fact that women have crossed the barrier between work and home in increasing numbers, in clothes which are somewhat practical for this endeavor.

Residual nineteenth century notions about play on Sundays have virtually disappeared from contemporary life, too. Except for certain minority religious groups, all class groups (though in disproportionate numbers) participate in or watch Sunday sports. Thus the strictures over when the body can be used or admired have been reduced in the twentieth century. This is further illustrated by the elimination of rules restricting participation in amateur sport on the basis of occupation. Now 'gentlemen' and working men are legally allowed to participate in sports competitions together. The continued rationalization and industrialization of the Canadian economy, and the associated increase in wages, leisure time and education of workers have had a significant overall effect.

But evidence shows that there continue to be effective structural constraints to working class participation in both elite and recreational sport. Richard Gruneau (1983; 1976) has made the case that what has been perceived as a 'massification' of Canadian sport has actually been a

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[50]See issues of Swimming World which report and advertise the reduction of friction as a result of improved swimsuit materials, 1970-1985.
[51]Bathing suits still differ significantly, due to the taboos against revealing female breasts in public.

'bourgeoisification'. In other words, though there has been a large increase in the number of participants in Canadian sport, the new sports participants have been drawn disproportionately from the middle class. Studies of elite athletes (Gruneau 1976; Theberge 1981; Eynon et al., 1981), and of sports administrators (Beamish 1975; Hollands and Gruneau 1979; Slack 1983) all indicate that highly educated, well paid people are overrepresented amongst sportspeople.

The reasons for this middle and upper class bias have been debated extensively on the left, and within functionalist sport sociology (see Leonard 1984, Chapter 7). The specifics of the discussion will not be reviewed here. But it must be remembered that the exigencies of the capitalist economy have a causal association with working class underrepresentation. What has been said about nineteenth century Canadian sport still holds true: increased rationalization, leisure time and education have affected the class structure of sports participation. However, it is obvious as the middle and late twentieth century unfolds that the middle class benefit more from these economic and cultural changes than the working class. Studies by Porter (1966) and Pike (1970) show that the large influx of students into secondary and post secondary educational institutions in the 1950's and 1960's was drawn primarily from the middle classes. The increased levels of technical and professional education has a direct relationship with skills considered necessary to the administration of amateur sport. Hollands and Gruneau (1979) comment on the cultural capital, or skills such as business letter writing, parliamentary procedural knowledge and friendship with others from the middle class, which assists those in professional or white collar occupations in their administrative duties. Gruneau (1976) says that the educational system itself restricts the upward mobility of working class children in their occupational life. He notes that while education has become virtually universal, the quality and duration of schooling varies according to class, and that therefore our schools and universities perpetuate structures of inequality.

What is less demonstrable, empirically, but more salient than specific skills in drawing the middle class into sports participation is the middle class attitude toward achievement. Competitive sport participation in the twentieth century requires the assumption that winning is

important and that hard work will produce success. One cultural explanation for working class underrepresention in elite sport is that working class children are imbued with somewhat fatalistic attitudes (Forcese 1980). Such attitudes, characterized by the belief in the power of luck more than skill or experience, arise quite realistically, due to the improbability of social mobility for working class people, no matter how hard they work. The notion of social mobility, which is a necessary component underlying the achievement ethic, is unrealistic when applied to working class occupations.

These same arguments, made by Gruneau with regard to class structure, can also be made regarding gender structure. Increasing levels of education and leisure have differentially affected the sexes. Until the 1960's, increased enrolment in higher education reflected an influx of males. Labour legislation and contract bargaining which reduced working hours affected male workers more than females, because such changes modified conditions in paid labour, not in unpaid labour in the home. While labour saving devices have replaced time spent on some housework, women's unpaid labour in the home has shifted, so that time spent on childcare has increased, and standards of cleanliness have heightened (Fox 1980b; Luxton 1980; Armstrong and Armstrong 1978:76). The emphasis on rationality for awhile spilled over into the home, as Ehrenreich and English (1975) outline, when the "domestic science movement" tried to introduce scientific management principles similar to Taylorization[52] in the factory into households. However, because of the small scale of household production, and the fact that the 'manager' and the worker were one and the same person, it was not possible to sustain this thrust. If the houseworker had become more scientific and rational, her needs for cleaning supplies and luxury commodities would have become more limited. As Ehrenreich and English cogently remark: "In an economy dependent on the multiplication of family 'needs', nothing would be more dangerous than a knowledgeable 'scientific' consumer" (1975:36).

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[52] An attempt to apply scientific principles to the organization and control of labour to increase efficiency, developed by Frederick Winslow Taylor in the late nineteenth century. Its principles are still fundamental to much of productive labour within capitalism. Taylorization has been associated with the degredation of work in the twentieth century (Braverman 1974).

The study of history shows us that struggles over sport have been ideological, centering on class and gender issues. The examination of contemporary sport reveals that the ideological struggle over class relations has been submerged, while the ideological struggle over gender relations has emerged fully. In late twentieth century Canada, class is not frequently addressed. The prevalent notion is that we live in a free and democratic society in which opportunity is available to all. This liberal notion permeates our cultural world as well as our economic thought and action (see Marchak 1981). Most people believe that we live in a classless society in which people are not impeded by their class background (Marchak 1981). This is reflected in the sports world by the fact that there are no workers' sports movements in Canada (Gruneau 1983:147). The skilled worker of today is more likely to be part of a mass television audience which draws from people of most classes, than part of a workers' movement of active sportspeople similar to the baseball players in Palmer's nineteenth century study. The average worker does not voice class aspirations through team sport participation. The amateur code, while still present theoretically, is no longer an ideological tool used to exclude lower classes from sport participation. High levels of state funding of amateur athletics mean that amateurs are paid for their services. Because the emphasis on winning has supplanted the fair play ethic of aristocratic sport, certain numbers of superior working class athletes have entered elite competition in the professional or high performance amateur ranks. Such working class participation is now fully acceptable. Indeed, the example of the poor Saskatchewan farm boy who "makes it big" in professional ice hockey helps to perpetuate the hegemonic power of the idea that those who work hard can succeed, regardless of social class background. If anything, sport is now an ideological tool which contributes to the notion of a classless society, rather than a tool in class struggle.

However, sport remains a tool for the perpetuation of notions about gender inequality. As Paul Willis (1982) has so convincingly pointed out, sports participation makes the notions of male superiority seem 'natural'. Many women and men believe that men 'naturally' have superior skills in sport, and this is associated with the belief in the 'naturalness' of male power

over females. Willis illustrates a three-stage ideological process, showing how women and men are defined as different, how sport helps to reinterpret and confirm these differences, and how the situation of women in sport continues the development or rebirth of this definition (when, for example, female athletes wear pink and try to be conventionally sexy and feminine). This ideological process obscures the fact that sport is a social construction which taxes certain skills which favour the male physique instead of others which favour the female physique. For instance, sports which require a lower center of gravity and a broader base of support are more easily performed by women than by men. The success of women on the balance beam exemplifies the possibility of socially constructing sports at which women can excel.

But sport does not merely perpetuate the hegemonic notion of male superiority. In some instances, women's sport participation challenges the idea of male superiority. Where women and men compete on equal terms, with no sex distinctions made, the ideology of male superiority is not perpetuated. Equestrian competitions and trapshooting, sports in which males and females compete against each other, portray the potential equality of the sexes, as well as the notion of liberal individualism. In these integrated sports, people are selected as individuals, not as members of a particular gender group.

Another way of challenging the dominant ideology of male superiority is to retain the separation between male sports and female sports, while enhancing the status of female sports participation. The ideological notion that females are more cooperative, less prone to violence, and fairer in their play has currency amongst some feminist sport advocates. This notion was prefigured by the nineteenth century calls for "separate but equal" sports for girls by physical educators who suggested that femininity in sport meant higher standards of morality (Cochrane et al, 1977:52-3).

The most frequently used method of challenging male hegemony in sport has been recourse to the judicial system. In Canada individual girls and women have challenged their exclusion from sports teams as a violation of basic human rights (Hall and Richardson 1982, Chapter two). The success of such challenges has varied from case to case, and even when a

court or tribunal has found in favour of the female, by the time the judgement is handed down, the girl has usually grown too old to derive personal benefit. This use of the judicial system is of course a method which is based on the ideology of liberal individualism. Each case has focussed on a particular individual, rather than on females as a social group.

The judicial challenges associated with girls' participation in sport illuminate the fact that in contemporary society, overtly ideological struggles in sport center on gender, rather than on social class. Sport is now touted as an inclusive activity by its apologists. But, in saying that sport has become democratized, such apologists are obscuring the class conflict which still exists in society, and which continues to result in underrepresentation of the working class in sport. The thesis that sport is democratized is also an ideological claim which is a weapon in the struggle over the meaning of sport with respect to gender.

This ideological struggle is directly related to productive labour relations in capitalism. Underlying all of the debates about femininity is the contradiction already referred to between the capitalist need for women in the productive labour force, and the patriarchal need for unpaid women working in the home. In the twentieth century, the barrier between work and home has been permeated, but the *ideas* about women's place have not caught up to the reality of women's lives. Nineteenth century patriarchal thought about femininity, represented in ideological struggles over sport, has been resistant to the changes in industrial capitalism which have resulted in the influx of women into the world of productive work. Ideological battles in the superstructure (as well as the previously discussed emphasis on rationalisation, increased education, and changing definitions of the body), all reflect real material changes in the division of labour, and specifically the relationship between work and home, productive labour and reproductive labour.

Gender Differentiation and the Commodification of Athletic Labour

It is unsurprising that ideological battles still rage over masculinity, femininity and sport, even as class struggles submerge. This is because changes in the labour force since the

middle of the twentieth century have affected the sexual division of labour rather significantly. While the pace of change in the structure of social class has continued steadily, the pace of change in the division of labour according to sex has accelerated dramatically. This acceleration must be seen in light of contradictory pressures on women: the capitalist pressure for them to enter the paid labour force, and the patriarchal pressure for them to be dependent upon and serve men (as well as themselves and children) in the home. Since the Second World War, the pressures of capitalism have effectively pushed significant numbers of women into the paid workforce, at a rapid pace.

Has this rapid change been reflected in sports participation? It will be remembered that in the nineteenth century, the continuing commodification of male labour, coupled with heightened class consciousness and class demands (sometimes represented within debates on sports) increased the prominence of male sports participation over female sports participation. With the rise of male workers' sports came the relative decline of female sports. But now, in the twentieth century, women make up a significant proportion of wage labourers. Has their entry into the paid work world been associated with a relative increase in the importance of women in other aspects of the public world? Have women's sports gained in relative importance in recent decades? Has the rise of male workers' sport continued to contradict the rise of middle and upper class sport for females, as it did in the nineteenth century?

These are questions which must of course be answered empirically. What should be taken into account, first of all, is the most obvious change in male sport in this century: professionalization. Male athletic labour has become a commodity and is now sold in order to make a profit. This process is part of the universal market tendencies of capitalism outlined by Braverman (1974), and is described with respect to sport in Canada by Gruneau (1983:118-119), Kidd (1978:30-34) and Beamish (1982:176-7). They point out that sport met the demand for new consumer goods. But these political economists have not taken account of gender. Sport became a commodity within a *patriarchal* capitalist nation state. Patriarchy has had just as much impact as capitalism on the growth of commercial sport.

While professional sport is in some ways similar to other forms of labour, it is in other ways anomalous. This is because professional sport is one of the few sectors of the workforce from which women are virtually excluded. Other heavily male-dominated vocations include the military and the priesthood. Why haven't women penetrated the professional sport realm to the extent that they have joined other professions? The most obvious answer to this question is that women are not biologically capable of making a professional sports team[53]. Women are too weak, small and slow, in general, to be able to make or take a football block, or hit a home run, or skate as quickly as male professionals. They would slow the game down, so the reasoning goes, and would probably be injured.

But this reasoning can be challenged. As Kenneth Dyer (1982) has pointed out in his analysis of the socio-biology of female sporting achievement, elite women may be capable of equalling or surpassing male athletic feats, if given equal training opportunities. Dyer predicts that superior women can be as fast and strong as superior men in a number of athletic tests. While Dyer's research and speculation refers only to the individual sports of track and field, swimming, cycling, skating, rowing, canoeing and skiing, his analysis can be extended to to other sports such as basketball, baseball, football and hockey, because the physiological requirements of strength, speed, stamina and flexibility are common to all of these sports. The point of his book is that, until males and females are trained in the same way, no one can tell if the top women are capable of challenging top men and winning. This is because the complex interplay between social and biological factors precludes any assured statement on the impossibility of all women athletes being limited by their biology from playing on a professional men's team. If certain tall, strong and fast women were given the appropriate opportunities and encouragement, they could perhaps surpass men in a test of traditional athletic feats, or in the combination of athletic tests which make up a team sport. The extension of Dyer's argument is that if *particular* women are given equivalent training opportunities and support systems in sports such as football, ice hockey, and basketball, they

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[53]These same naturalistic arguments are used to keep women out of combat and the priesthood.

could make professional teams, and perform as well as their male counterparts. However Dyer's predictions, and extensions of such predictions with regard to team sport, are speculative. We cannot assume that some superior women could be equivalent to some superior men. Conversely, we cannot assume that this would be impossible, either. The selection of a woman to a professional team remains a possibility, should training opportunities become equivalent.

However, the provision of equivalent training opportunities does not address a barrier to women's sport which is as important as the physiological difference between the sexes. This barrier is the labour market structure within professional sport. The structural constraints against women entering the athletic labour market become obvious when this labour market is compared to other sectors of the economy which women have entered. An example of a labour market which has become "feminized" is the secretarial workforce. A number of studies[54] have shown how at the turn of the century women began working in offices which had previously employed only males, taking over clerical and typing duties. Davies (1979) explains that this influx was due, in the first instance, to the rapid growth and consolidation of corporations. Because of the increasing complexity of business associated with this growth, there was a greater need for workers to perform correspondence, record keeping and general office work. The second factor associated with office work feminization was the large pool of unemployed and educated female labour which grew after compulsory education was instituted. Because professions such as law and medicine were closed to them, women went into positions which were available to them and which demanded them; secretarial jobs.

There has never been a large demand for athletic labour. Elite professional sport is a luxury commodity, not a necessity. Profits are made because of the rarity of the commodity. Professional sport can be considered a specialty business, similar to a superior restaurant where the chef's abilities are paramount. Just as a high calibre restaurant could not realistically expand its premises, hire great numbers of chefs and servers, and still preserve its characteristic

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[54]See Lowe, (1980), for example.

excellence, professional sports franchises must hire limited numbers of specialized professionals. In offices, economies of scale mean that companies can hire large numbers of workers at lower wages and increase profits (See Phillips and Phillips 1983:82). In sport, the marketability of the product is inherent in the elite nature of the limited number of workers' talents. The same economies of scale do not apply. Women have entered other jobs and occupations when there has been a high demand for labour[55]. The economic structure of professional sport precludes this demand.

This economic argument cannot stand alone as an explanation for women's near absence from professional sport, however. Even though the demand is limited, there is an associated factor which impedes women. While continuing to set aside the valid argument from biology, another factor excluding women from professional sport has been the ideological view of entrepreneurs, consumers, and athletes themselves. In general, sports team owners, media personnel who purchase rights to showcase sports, sports fans, and professional athletes believe that sport is and should be a masculine domain. Their corollary belief is that sport contradicts femininity. Literature concerning women and sport has time and again documented such beliefs (See Hall and Richardson, 1982; Oglesby, 1978a; Boutillier and San Giovanni,1983; Gerber et al, 1974). Such arguments will not be reiterated here. What is important to note is that attitudes or ideological beliefs work together with the market structure to exclude women from professional teams. Secondly, these beliefs are reinforced by and buttress the market structure. In the final analysis, the beliefs arise from the market structure, and the material relations of society in general[56].

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[55] The teaching profession has also become feminized over time due to the same conjunction of increased demand and increased supply of educated women (see Prentice 1977b).

[56]This statement should not be construed as rigidly deterministic. Ideology is integrally connected to the relations of production. But as Barrett (1980:97) has pointed out, if the concept of ideology is to be operative then it must be bounded through a definition which distinguishes it from the material world, and at the same time points out the determinant relationship between matter and ideas 'in the last instance'.

The commodification of male sport, buttressed by patriarchal ideological beliefs, has in the twentieth century meant that women's sports have not gained the prominence of male professional sports. These twentieth century changes are similar to the nineteenth century changes which saw the growth of male worker participation in sport, and the relative decline in the importance of female sport participation. The contradiction between male workers' sport and women's sport continues. Professional sport in and of itself preserves male dominance in all aspects of sport directly, but it also perpetuates this dominance indirectly. Because of the effect of professional sport on amateur sport, increased opportunities for boys and men of all classes will conflict with the interests of women as they pertain to sports. Professional sport helps to maintain both ideological and structural inequalities in amateur sport.

The best illustration of this point in Canada is ice hockey. Hockey has been called 'Canada's religion'. Canadians are identified abroad in association with snow, mounted policemen and ice hockey players. What effect does this have on gender relations? First, the structure of amateur ice hockey in Canada reflects the need for professionals for the National Hockey League. Amateur leagues have become feeder systems for the pros (Kidd 1982; Kidd and Macfarlane 1972). The agreements signed by the NHL and the Canadian Amateur Hockey Association (CAHA) perpetrate the relationship between male professional sport and publicly funded amateur sport. Such arrangements are de facto contracts which state that owners of NHL teams, through their affiliates, will have a say in the allocation of public monies (Triance 1985)[57].

But professional ice hockey influences gender inequality in amateur hockey in another indirect way. The existence of all professional sport, including ice hockey, is predicated on a television contract. The National Hockey League could not survive without "Hockey Night in

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[57] Suzanne Triance, director of the female council of the Canadian Amateur Hockey Association, has stated that, per capita, females receive approximately 25 percent of the financial support which males receive from federal public monies. Triance notes, however, that figures are very difficult to monitor, and that few people have made the attempt to compare male and female programs, as much of the funding is handed out in undesignated amounts, to mixed associations. Triance speculates that though in the past women's hockey was often subsidized by male registrations, today female hockey, in general, pays its own way.

Canada" broadcasts by the CBC, and the more recent association with CTV and the Global Television network (Globe and Mail January 18, 1985). The broadcast of NHL games is vitally necessary to the survival of professional ice hockey in Canada.

The influence of television in particular and the media in general in shaping other cultural forms has been well documented. Indeed, beginning with Harold Innis, theories of Canadian society have often been explicitly and implicitly dominated by discussion of the communications. The geographic size and sparse population of our country have demanded the development of an efficient transportation and communications infrastructure. This infrastructure has come to dominate other sectors of the economy (Smythe 1982). Much has been written on Canadian media and its relationship to nationalism, federalism and Canadian economic dependency, and issues of language and ethnicity. There is a developing awareness of the effects of the electronic media on gender differentiation (Benet 1978). Researchers who have studied gender differentiation within sports reporting have noted a bias in favour of male activities (Rintala and Birrell 1984). The underrepresentation of female sport by the media is perhaps the most powerful tool in the maintenance of the hegemony of men's sport over women's sport.

But professional women's sport continues. Women's tennis and golf are popular, and they both have produced female millionaires. As well, women's professional leagues exist or have existed in the sports of basketball, softball and soccer (Boutillier and San Giovanni 1983:41) in the United States. Individual women professionals compete in track and field, automobile racing, bowling and rodeo, as well. But the women's circuits have the characteristics of the secondary labour market: low pay and poor job security (Phillips and Phillips 1983:85). The main factor impeding the development of women's sport at the professional level is the scant coverage that these sports receive on television.

In any case, the growth and development of women's professional sport is of questionable value to women. While a great increase in the opportunities for women to engage in sport for pay might redress the imbalance between women and men at the professional level,

and while this might have a large effect on amateur sport, there are many problems inherent in the commodification of sport. The history of men's commercial sport is a history of monopolization. Small one owner clubs competing against each other for marginal rates of profit have become incorporated into large multi-national leagues. Jones (1976) in his neo-classical economic analysis of the NHL shows that, if it was to be financially viable, the NHL could not continue to operate as a group of competitors. The various franchises had to band together as a cartel, because maximizing individual profits could only be achieved by maximizing the profits of the group. The league is only as strong as its weakest link.

Richard Gruneau has written of the effects of monopolization on working class males:

> . . . for the working class, the change from the bi-national *player-controlled* or *club-orientated* commercial sports that are occasionally found in the late nineteenth century to the corporate sports of the present day has been something of a cultural betrayal. . . . as cartel structures were created in the sports world . . . (a)ctual working class influence on decision-making became limited as mobility into executive positions became restricted to individuals with capital. . . . (W)hat began as a dramatization of meritocracy and greater freedom revealed itself, paradoxically, to also be an abstract symbolization of constraining commodity relations (Gruneau 1983:121).

Here again, if a gender perspective is added to class analysis, new insights are revealed and our understanding is intensified. First, we realize that sport was never meritocratic, even as drama, because in the nineteenth century the actors were all men. Secondly, as monopolization developed in sport, working class males were gradually forced out of positions of control - but at the same time women of all classes continued to be excluded. The NHL official record book (1982) shows that the only women who were listed as part of any organization were employed as "administrative assistants". The exclusion is created both because capital investment is required, but also through patriarchal ideological notions which are held by various NHL owners and board members. Clement (1975:212), commenting on the exclusion of women from the corporate elite notes that the practice of having a token woman on boards has occurred only recently in Canada. But even token women are not present in the NHL. The

constraining commodity relations of advanced capitalism are not exclusive to men. When women's labour becomes commodified within monopolies, they too lose freedom and control.

This loss of freedom and control is a feature of all alienated labour, or labour which is purchased by the capitalist. As Braverman states it:

> Having been forced to sell their labor power to another, the workers also surrender their interest in the labor process, which becomes 'alienated'. *The labor process becomes the responsibility of the capitalist*. In this setting of antagonistic relations of production, the problem of realizing the 'full usefulness' of the labor power he has bought becomes exacerbated by the opposing interests of those for whose purposes the labor process is carried on, and those who, on the other side, carry it on (Braverman 1974:57).

This antagonism or conflict between workers and owners which Braverman describes is the core of capitalist exploitation. Workers, whether they are male factory workers or female professional athletes lose control of their labour because of capitalist productive relations.

Conclusion

The preceeding overview of contemporary Canadian sport has shown that there are continued similarities and differences in class and gender struggles. The effects of rationalization, increased education, and changes in leisure time on working class and women's sports persist. The proper use of the body is still negotiated partly through sports participation by the working class and by women. And ideological notions about these oppressed groups are still associated with their presence on or absence from the sports field. However, in the twentieth century, ideological representations about gender are more apparent, as the ideological battle over class participation has diminished.

There continues to be a contradiction between the resolution of the call for working class male sport and the demand for female sport participation. Working class male demands have been incorporated into the development of commercial sports; sports are no longer an aristocratic bastion. But the development of professional sport has hindered the growth of women's sport. Commercial sport has an integral relationship with amateur sport which results

in disproportionate allocations to male amateur sport. As well, male dominated media presentations buttress the ideology that sports are masculine.

Thus, the consideration of productive labour and its separation from work in the home, the class and gender division of labour, and their interconnections with sports has led to a number of conclusions. Reference to history and contemporary society show us the relationships between class and gender as they are represented within sport. But the discussion of labour to this point has concentrated on productive labour, particularly on paid labour in professional sport. The three reasons provided for women's underrepresentation in professional sport (biology, economic structure and ideology) are salient, but insufficient. There is a fourth, and most compelling reason for women's nonparticipation in sport: women perform reproductive labour. Women's responsibilities for reproductive and domestic labour (giving birth, raising children, and homemaking) affect much more than their potential to participate in professional sport. Reproductive labour performed by women has effects on all aspects of patriarchy and capitalism. In the next chapter, the relationships between reproductive labour and sport will be explored.

Chapter IV

SPORT AND REPRODUCTIVE LABOUR

"Reproductive labour" is a rather economistic and clinical phrase for experiences which are generally exciting, sensual and enjoyable. Sexuality and motherhood are not often thought of in connection with work or labour. Because sexual behavior and mothering have been considered private, the connection between these behaviors and other aspects of the public world such as sport are not frequently made. But there are links between sport, sexuality and motherhood. It will be remembered from chapter two that there is an association between the socially constructed institution of heterosexuality and nonbiological manifestations of gender such as dress and deportment which, for the female, are described as "feminine". Training females to be "feminine" prepares them for heterosexual liaisons with males who are more economically powerful within capitalist patriarchy. Femininity training also prepares women to be mothers.

The relationship between women's reproductive labour and female participation in sport has been discussed, indirectly, for at least twenty years. But rather than focussing on reproductive labour behaviors such as housekeeping and childcare, the majority of authors have focussed on the gender training and ideology which supports the sexual division of labour. These authors have concentrated on "femininity", and its association with sports participation. Through a critique and extension of the thoughts of authors such as Metheney (1965) the relationship between sport and reproductive labour can be explored by evaluating sport, femininity training, and institutionalized heterosexuality. The direct relationship between female athleticism and sexual preference is not at issue here. Instead, the social construction of femininity as a support for institutionalized heterosexuality will be examined, by focussing on sport as an instance of the expression of femininity.

Sport, Femininity and Social Class

Eleanor Metheney, in a landmark article (1965) addressed the relationship between sport and femininity and drew conclusions which linked women's traditional role as nurturant caregivers to their relatively constrained and passive participation in sport situations. Metheney said:

> As potential wives and mothers, the college women are concerned with expressing their femininity . . . . Recognizing their own biologically-based need for dependence on the male wage-earner, they modify their behavior in ways to enhance their own sexual desirability. (This is) evidenced in the socially approved list of sports for women. Strength and bodily contact are de-emphasized in favour of skill and grace; force is applied to weightless objects with lightweight implements; and velocity is attained by the use of manufactured devices. And there is no serious competition in which women are matched against men. Rather, in those sports in which men and women participate together, with women generally accepting the supporting rather than the dominant role (1965:55).

More specifically, Metheney noted that some forms of sport competition are categorically unacceptable for women, including attempts to physically subdue the opponent by bodily contact (wrestling, judo); direct application of force (weightlifting); attempts to project the body into or over long distance (marathon racing); co-operative face-to-face opposition in situations in which some body contact may occur (soccer, basketball). Some forms of competition may be appropriate for women identified in the lower levels of socio-economic status to engage in contest in which the resistance of an object of moderate weight is overcome by direct application of bodily force or the body is projected through space over moderate distances and for short periods. Such sports include tennis, short sprints, throwing events and low hurdles. It is wholly appropriate, according to Metheney, for middle and upper class women to engage in contests in which the resistance of a light object is overcome with a light implement; the body is projected into or through space in aesthetically pleasing patterns, and/or the velocity and maneuverability of the body is increased by the use of some manufactured device (1965:51-52). These sports include gymnastics, swimming and badminton.

Metheney's article was well ahead of its time. It lays some groundwork for a socialist feminist researcher because it takes account of two fundamentals: class and reproductive labour. Metheney carefully distinguishes between what is acceptable for women from the "more favoured" class and those from the "lower levels of socio-economic status". And in a perceptive way, she links class and productive labour with marriage and reproductive labour, including sexuality. She says:

> Women from homes in which both the father and mother are commonly employed in some form of manual labour may seemingly use their own muscular forces in athletics without impairing their marriageability. Here the old fallacy of associating displays of strength with sexual inadequacy seems to be greatly weakened - although it cannot be wholly dismissed as a factor in the determination of social approval (Metheney 1965:53).

But there are absences in what Metheney has provided. These problems have subsequently been reproduced in the many articles which have been built, directly or indirectly on Metheney's original analysis[58]. First, there is a strong element of biological determinism in her formulation of the basis of the relation between males and females. She suggests that, because the prohibition against women overcoming an opponent by direct application of physical force cuts across "all cultural lines", there is a biological basis to this difference. Such a deduction is invalid because firstly, there have been and are now cultures wherein women act as warriors (Goldman 1982). Secondly, there may well be an intervening antecedent to this prohibition. Perhaps women have been prohibited from fighting physically by men who wish to maintain political power through monopolization of physical force. This antecedent condition is social, not biological[59].

There is the absence as well, in Metheney's work, of a working class women's voice. Metheney's data were derived from attitudes expressed by college women in the United States in

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[58]Two of the most prominent sources include Gerber et al, (1974) and Oglesby (1978), and in a Canadian context Cochrane et al, (1977). Hall (1981) presents an initial challenge to Metheney.

[59]See Burstyn (1983) and Sanday (1981) for discussions on the political validation of the use of male force to dominate women in patriarchy.

the early 1960's. Because she does not provide a breakdown of her sample according to class, it must be assumed that it reflects the female college population of the time, in that white middle and upper class women from urban areas are overrepresented. The minority group of college women from the "lower socioeconomic classes" were probably of lower middle class origins. Working class women in the 1960's did not commonly become university students (Pike 1970). Until we have research data which represent working class (including rural) women, our understanding of gender inequality in sport is inadequate. Therefore, any statements made about the "feminine image" in sport are incomplete.

A third difficulty in Metheney's work, and in subsequent studies based on her work is that there has been no attempt to theoretically relate ideological notions with structural barriers, or to situate the meaning of "sporting" femininity within the material context in which the meaning is produced. Metheney does not recognize that the definition of what is *acceptable* arises out of what is *accessible*. If middle class women are not allowed into men's clubs where handball is played, then handball will not be acceptable to them (cf. Metheney 1965:52). If membership in a judo club requires a fee which will not be paid by a father for his daughter, then judo will become unacceptable. Metheney and some others who have followed her have failed to deal at the concrete level with specific structural barriers such as membership restrictions and fees which have precluded women from engaging in the "unacceptable" sport forms.

The most salient structural barrier for many adult women is their responsibility for reproductive labour. Hall (1976) has provided rich and comprehensive data showing that women's participation in sport is limited above all by their responsibilities for housework and childcare. In a multivariate analysis of data provided by women in both Britain and Canada, Hall has shown that though women would like to participate in sport or physical activity, their responsibilities in the home preclude them from doing this. In other words,

according to Hall, it is not ideological notions about what is feminine and acceptable which constrain women from becoming physically active, but the structural barriers imposed by the time and energy it takes to fulfill their responsibilities concerning reproductive labour. Hall and Richardson (1982) elaborate on this point:

> Why do women participate less than men in sport and physical recreation activities? . . . .Lack of sufficient leisure time seems to be the problem. The constraints imposed by marriage and the family and possibly work (more than 40 percent of married women in Canada are in the labour force) are very real to women who, in many cases, either place their own interests and leisure pursuits far behind their commitment to the maintenance of a household or disregard their personal needs completely. It is particularly unfortunate that when married women with families do pursue their own interests, they often feel guilty for doing so. Still, the situation has begun to improve recently: more and more women, particularly middle class professionals and homemakers, are showing an ever increasing interest in a fitness oriented lifestyle (1982:53-4).

This elaboration by Hall and Richardson shows that even in the face of the structural barriers to women's involvement in sport, there has been a tremendous increase in female sport participation. Within popular cultural forms such as magazines and television advertising, women and girls are frequently depicted taking part in sport or physical activity. It seems that, in direct contradiction to the theories that Metheney and followers purport, women and girls now eagerly participate in sport. Perhaps the ideology of "femininity as passivity" is no longer powerful. Perhaps mothers now have as much leisure time as fathers. Because the growth of Canadian women's participation in sport (and recreational physical activity more generally) has been relatively recent, and because little empirical sociological or social psychological evidence has been collected, it is impossible at this time to definitively confirm such statements.

However, it can be conjectured that any growth in female activity, and accompanying redefinition of femininity with respect to sports has been largely a middle class phenomenon. Data from the most recent Canada Fitness Survey (Canada 1982 {Summary}) continue to show that the physically active are middle to upper income earners, with more than the average years of education. Second, many of the popular sports such as gymnastics and synchronized

swimming may be seen as representative of traditional femininity. Such sports emphasize appearance, aesthetics, and artifice; young athletes are expected to wear make-up as they perform. The product of the expressive sports is the performance of the sport itself. Girls have traditionally engaged in the expressive sports, as opposed to the instrumental sports, often team sports, wherein there is an external, abstract end such as the scoring of goals. Jennifer Hargreaves (1982) makes the same point with regard to social classes, noting that upper class sporting involvement tends to be more expressive in nature, while the working class is more involved in instrumental sports. Thus there is a link between class and gender. "Femininity" has usually been defined by middle and upper class women and men, for middle and upper class women and girls. In sports such as synchronized swimming and gymnastics, the class based definition of femininity remains unchallenged.

However, coed sports such as soccer and softball are also popular among girls and women. These coed sports differ from the "feminine" sports in that they are instrumental, and are not primarily aesthetic. As well, because they are integrated, they cannot be defined as "masculine" or "feminine" on the basis of the sex of the players. Perhaps in this integrated, egalitarian youth sport there are signs of emergent definitions of gender identity. More precisely, within such games, boys and girls learn not to attribute their ability or inability to play physical games to their gender, and thus a certain form of physicality does not become part of gender identity. Strength, speed and aggressiveness are no longer defined in a gender specific way.

A similar increased emphasis on female strength is found in some newly emergent forms of adult physical activity, too. One example is body building. Studios, competitions, clothing, instructional aids and periodicals which support body building are all proliferating throughout North America. At first glance, such an interest in strength training and body building would seem to indicate a newly emergent definition of femininity in which well defined muscles are highly valued. But within the women's body building industry there are many contradictions. It is true that strength and competitiveness, traditionally masculine traits are

advocated by and for women body builders. But advocates of women's body building often promote a version of femininity which encourages strength muscularity and competitiveness, as means toward the dominant conception of femininity as objectified, youthful, sensual, and fashion conscious.What emerges is not a redefined femininity, but a further measure of femininity, another ideal which women must try to achieve[49].

One major characteristic which is common to traditional definitions of femininity which is apparent in the descriptions of female sport participation is heterosexual attractiveness. Much continues to be made of the appeal of women athletes to men. Body building magazines, newspaper articles, and sports journals usually make careful allusion to boyfriends or husbands in biographical profiles of women athletes. Even scholars such as Kenneth Dyer (1982) state that women athletes are "like other women in bed" (1982:102), implying that they are heterosexuals, and heading off any suggestions that some women athletes may be lesbians.

Today, not only is the femininity of women athletes directly associated with heterosexual attractiveness, but fitness and athleticism is promoted as a method of enhancing attractiveness for the average nonathletic woman. Private fitness studios are advertised as places to meet people of the opposite sex. Athletic clothing is also designed, sold and worn by many women with heterosexual attractiveness in mind. Much of the association between heterosexuality and athleticism is implied rather than overt. This is because, in a society which has institutionalized heterosexuality and which negatively sanctions homosexuality, sexual attractiveness connotes appeal to the opposite sex, rather than the same sex. The increase in female sport participation has not challenged heterosexuality as a key aspect of femininity.

In summary, then, two statements can be made of the recent popularity of girls' and women's participation in sport and physical activity. First, there is a great deal of

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[49] A recent issue of the magazine Strength Training for Beauty (June 1984), a body building periodical, explains that Carla Dunlop, one of the top body builders, has a physique which is "symmetrical, proportioned, muscular and powerful"; with "split biceps and cross-striations in her thighs". But, in the next sentence the author points out that Dunlop is "an incredibly feminine woman".

contradiction within the portrayal of femininity through sport and recreational physical activity, especially in such new activity forms as body building. We see in such forms both the residual emphasis on a traditional femininity including such traits as passivity, objectivity, expressiveness and heterosexuality, and a newly emergent emphasis - on strength, competitiveness and control. Perhaps the new ideas about female athleticism are being incorporated[61] into the dominant ideology as a result of hegemony. The second principle which has been suggested here, and which must be tested empirically is that definitions of femininity are correlated with the social class of those who define. It is possible that the feminine image in sport is narrowly middle class, and that working class definitions of femininity were, and still are different from other class-based definitions. But class differences aside, women in general are affected by the social construction of sexuality and femininity, and other aspects of reproductive labour. The most important part of reproductive labour, motherhood, will now be discussed.

Sport and Motherhood

References to the relationship between the reproductive labour of mothering and sports participation can be found in the literature on sports socialization. In such research, the effects of families on children's participation in sport has been examined. The research in general does not distinguish between the mother's and father's impact on the child. But such research provides a helpful beginning to an analysis of the relationship between reproductive labour and sport in a capitalist patriarchy. In summary, the research has shown that whether or not children become socialized into sports depends not only on their early experiences with sport itself, but also on play and games in their early childhood. Greendorfer (1983) reviews a variety of literature to show how toys and games become sex-typed, because parents reward only sex-linked behavior such as doll play among girls, and because boys and girls imitate role models of their own gender. It is pointed out that fathers have a strong influence on their

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[61]As Whitson (1984) explains with regard to the popularity of distance running.

sons' socialization into physical activity and sport. Boys' games are played in larger groups and are said to be more complex than girls' games, which are usually indoor, limited in interaction with the environment, and are modified by explicit, simple rules.

The socialization of children into sports is sex-differentiated, too. Greendorfer notes that there is a regular pattern of male socialization into sports which extends across classes and races. However, influences on girls with regard to their participation in physical activity vary according to class. Female athletes tend to come from the middle and upper classes, to have engaged in sport early in their childhood, and to have been rewarded for their participation. However, Greendorfer notes that even among the upper classes, female sport participation is not a given, and that whether or not girls become athletes is really an "accident of birth" more than anything else.

Three inadequacies in sport sociology with regard to the analysis of sex differentiated socialization into sport are apparent. First the "monolithic concept of the family" has frequently been used. Margrit Eichler (1983) has critiqued the use of the term "family" to encompass a wide variety of institutional variations among groups of people who socialize children. "Families" is a better term than "the family" because this term can allow variation among families along the procreative dimension (wife and husband do not always and exclusively have children with each other), on the socialization dimension (both mother and father are not always involved in socialization), on the sexual dimension (marital couples do not always have sex with each other, or exclusively with each other), on the residential dimension (all families do not always share the same residence, day and night), on the economic dimension (father isn't always the sole breadwinner), and on the emotional dimension (all family members do not always interact in a positive emotional way with each other) (Eichler 1983:6-7). For example, Greendorfer says:

> The family conveys from one generation to another those traditions, perspectives, norms and values that are vital for cultural maintenance. For these reasons, one cannot underestimate the role of the family (Greendorfer 1983:136).

This statement is an example of the representation of the monolithic family. There may be many different types of families, rather than one "family" type, which *sometimes* convey traditions.

Statements about children's socialization into sport have been built on the belief in a family whose characteristics are assumed but unspecified. "The family" is conceived of as consisting of a husband and wife and their biological offspring who live together on the wages of father and the housework of mother, and who interact in a relatively positive emotional manner, with mother and father both helping to socialize their children. If the families of subjects in the sport socialization studies do meet all of these characteristics, then they are in the minority, because two earner families, for instance, are now the rule rather than the exception. Data which are collected to determine the impact of families on sport socialization should be much richer. For instance, specific questions which assess where family members live, and the frequency of their interactions must be collected. These questions would allow the researcher to assess differences between children from a one parent or two parent home, for example, and among children who have varying degrees of interaction with their parents in a two parent home. Sport sociologists can no longer assume that there is only one family type which can be assessed for its impact on youngsters. Only if particular aspects of the family are analyzed can the differential impact of mothers on children be carefully assessed.

A second problem with research related to socialization into sport is the low significance given to social class. The monolithic family in the sport socialization literature is a middle class family, which can afford to have a mother work solely in the home. This middle class bias has probably arisen because most of the sample populations in socialization literature have been Olympic or college athletes (See Greendorfer 1978; Kenyon 1970; McPherson 1972) who tend to come from the middle class. Where class has been taken into account (Greendorfer 1978), class differences even among a university population have been found, but there has been nothing more than a quantitative description of these differences rather than an explanation[42].

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[42]Greendorfer (1983:150) puts forward the tentative hypothesis that upper class fathers may play a more positive role in socializing daughters into sport than lower

A final[63] criticism of the sport socialization literature is that it rarely makes a distinction between the impact of fathers and mothers. When studies have differentiated between parents, they have not referred to the power structure between husband and wife. The father and mother are seen as individuals having relatively equivalent roles to play in the socialization of their children. Greendorfer does report "surprising" findings (Greendorfer and Lewko 1978) that the father was influential in sport socialization for both boys and girls, and that mothers and siblings were not important at all. But she goes on to suggest that more data must be collected, rather than trying to situate this surprising finding within a theoretical framework, feminism, that has always pointed to the greater power of men. It would seem appropriate that research which focusses on sex inequality among athletes would also focus on sex inequality among the socializers of athletes. Greendorfer at the conclusion of her article (1983:155) calls for new research methods and new research questions. Yet the recognition of inequality among athletes does not lead to the use of a feminist theory of sex inequality.

Research into the complex processes of gender differentiated sport socialization does need new methodologies and new questions. But what it needs more is a theoretical basis in feminism. Findings about early childhood play differences (Goldberg and Lewis 1969) are a clue to the type of feminist theory which might be helpful. Differences between the way mothers behave toward male and female infants suggests that feminist psychoanalytic theory might prove useful.

It will be remembered from chapter two that psychoanalytic theorists such as Nancy Chodorow suggest that mothering behaviors on the part of women are not biologically determined. Instead, unconscious processes during infancy and childhood generate gender differentiated personalities. These personalities are amenable to the aquisition of sex-typed behaviors such as mothering, and these sex typed behaviors are taught and reinforced through

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[62](cont'd) class fathers. However, this hypothesis posits class merely as an intervening variable in father/daughter socialization processes, and not as an independent variable with explanatory power.

[63]The sport socialization literature can also be critiqued for its use of role theory with its inherent conservative bias. An extensive elaboration of this critique is found in Hall (1981) and will not be dealt with here.

conscious role learning. Finally, such sex stereotypic behaviors are arranged hierarchically in that the behaviors associated with girls and women are devalued.

The unconscious process of sex-differentiated personality development arises, according to Chodorow, because women, not men, mother. In both traditional and nontraditional family structures (including daycares) women are the primary caregivers, and in these situations boys replace an early identification with the mother by an identification with the father. Girls do not reject their early identification with their mother. The symbiotic relationship between mother and daughter is perpetuated, and the young girl develops a greater need to merge and identify with others than the boy. This need to merge with others is manifested in later life in mothering behaviors. Thus the act of mothering by women perpetuates mothering by women.

These general formulations can be applied to a specific phase in the growth of an infant; the development of locomotor function. The early phases of such development can be examined, keeping in mind sex differentiation in personalities and subsequent emergence of sex-typed behaviors which are consciously learned. At issue here is the later behavioral differentiation with regard to sport participation. How is infant development related to later conscious sex-typed behaviors such as sport participation, and hence to the stratification of such sex related behaviors?

The psychoanalytic theory of the development of the human infant has been advanced primarily through the work of Margaret Mahler (Mahler et al, 1975). Her work explains the period of human development from approximately six months to two years of age, known as the separation and individuation period. It is this period that has been seen as formative in the development of gender differentiated behavior, including playful behaviors and locomotion. It has been speculated that during this period, because of mothering by women, boys begin to develop behaviors which eventually predispose them to socialization into sport. Girls do not develop this same predisposition, on average. The foundation of this speculation with its roots in psychoanalytic theory will now be elaborated.

The primary tasks of the separation individuation phase for the child is to learn to differentiate her physical and mental boundaries (separation), and to develop skills and characteristics unique to herself (individuation). The phase consists of four subphases: differentiation, practicing, rapproachment and consolidation. During differentiation, which takes place from six to ten months (approximately), the child begins to explore the possibilities of separation and physical mobility. This is the time of initial ego development. Mothers, during the differentiation period are less likely to push their daughters than their sons to differentiate, because of their closer identification with their daughters.

The practicing subphase, when the symbiotic relationship with mother must be severed, is a time during which a great deal of pleasure is taken in locomotor function. This is the time when the baby is said to have "a love affair with the world", as she becomes upright, much more mobile, and begins to exult in contact with a previously undiscovered world. Again the mother may be more ambivalent about giving up a symbiotic relationship with a daughter than with a son because of strong mother/daughter identification. This practicing subphase among all subphases, is probably of most interest to sport sociologists, because during this time the baby lays the foundation for biped physical skills. It ends at approximately eighteen months of age.

From then to twenty-four months or so the young child first becomes aware of gender. She also realizes that she is not omnipotent. Girls, according to psychoanalysts, suffer a gender specific lessening of self-esteem as they learn about their femininity. There is an ambivalence during this phase, because the child, discovering her own fallibility, wants to return to the symbiotic phase, but is also afraid of being engulfed by her mother. This is called the rapprochment phase. A fourth subphase of the separation-individuation process is devoted to the consolidation of individuality, and the beginnings of emotional object constancy. During this stage the child learns to substitute a reliable internal image for the absent mother, and soon separation from mother can be lengthened, and relatively easily tolerated.

Psychoanalysts have made a few brief remarks about gender differentiated locomotor function during the practicing phase. Kaplan (1978:175-6) suggests that mothers are "in awe" of their sons' masculine prowess in running and climbing, and that they often take pride in masculine independence and bravado. However, they tend to worry about the physical safety of their daughters, and this results in a lessened degree of locomotor activity. Girls do not test their body limits in space as much as boys. This difference in mothers' attitudes may have a precursor in the symbiosis phase. Mahler et al, (1975:66) note that children who had an intense but uncomfortable relationship with their mother were most comfortable in the practicing phase, as their locomotor functions matured. The intensity of the mother child bond increases, in general, when the child is a girl. Thus, it might be speculated that boys are better able to expand their locomotor capacity during this practicing phase.

Gender differences in locomotor behavior arising in the practicing subphase can be extrapolated past this phase, into rapproachment and beyond. Self confidence and enthusiasm in locomotor function continues more readily in children whose early "practicing" was pleasurable (Mahler et al, 1975:217). If, as has been suggested above, there is a tendency because of closer mother/daughter identification during symbiosis, for a more conflicted practicing subphase among girls, then it is likely that for boys, early practicing is more pleasurable. This would mean that boys would more readily extend their enthusiastic development of locomotor function. Again, this deduction has not been specified by psychoanalysts but is implied in their discussion of separation and individuation. It is also supported by their various clinical observations on "gender-determined motor mindednesses" (Mahler et al, 1975:213).

Such nonexplicit links between sex-differentiated locomotor function and mothering by women are certainly not substantive enough to comprise a psychoanalytic theory of sex-differentiated socialization into sport. But they do hint at a direction of analysis for feminist sociologists interested in socialization into sport. More importantly, they suggest a theoretical stance, a feminist psychoanalytic stance, for the researcher to use in her

explorations. Simply put, the theory provides an *explanation* of the data collected on differences in the young child's locomotor behavior. In its feminist form, psychoanalytic theory states that gender differences, including locomotor differences, are rooted in the early mother-child relationship. This relationship arises in a social world which is constructed partly through the primary provision of childcare by women.

Sport sociologists might also look to psychoanalytic theory because it deals with biological differences between males and females. Biology cannot be avoided in discussion of sex inequality in sport. Physiologists and biomechanicians are increasingly engaged in positivist studies of sex differences in characteristics like aerobic capacity, muscle growth and function, and skill execution patterns. These studies, while important in providing a data base from which to begin sociological discussions of males and females in sport are by definition, unrelated to the social situation, or to psychology. Psychoanalytic theory has attempted to trace the relationship between the different bodies which boys and girls possess, and their actions in the social world.

One example of a psychoanalytic attempt to link the biological body with psychology and social life is Erikson's (1968 reprinted 1974a) essay "Womanhood and Inner Space". This much maligned[44] essay tries to explain clinical observations of sex-differences in twelve and thirteen year olds' use of space by referring to sex specific genitalia. When boys and girls were asked to create an exciting scene from an imaginary moving picture using small figures, toys and blocks as representative objects, two-thirds of the girls created interior scenes which were for the most part peaceful. Two-thirds of the boys created scenes in which more people and animals were outside, and in which more motion and accidents took place. Erikson interpreted these findings on the basis of the "profound difference (which) exists between the sexes in the experience of the ground plan of the human body" (1974a:301). He notes that the organization of a play space by two-thirds of his population seemed to parallel the morphology of genital differentiation: males have an external organ which mobilizes sperm; females have an

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[44]See Millett (1970:210-220) for a caustic criticism. Young (1980) challenges Erickson from a phenomenological perspective.

internal organ and "static" ova (Erikson 1974a:300).

Erikson's conclusions can be challenged on a number of grounds. Above all, as Young (1980:149) points out, it is far more plausible that the girls' more limited use of space and action results from the sex differentiated experience of moving their own bodies in space, not from the passive exposure to (and perhaps limited understanding of) genitalia. Girls are constrained from an early age, as Mahler and Kaplan point out, in moving their bodies through space. This social constraint is a powerful explanation for their limited projections with play objects. And Erikson can secondly be criticized for ignoring one of three distinct subgroups of his sample. He notes that two-thirds of girls and two-thirds of boys demonstrated sex-differentiated behavior, which means that a full one-third of his sample constructed scenes which were not sex-differentiated. Surely the large group of children which did not construct scenes parallel to their morphological structure should be considered. Indeed, bearing in mind all three groups, it might be concluded that the one-third of the subjects who constructed scenes which were dominated by erections, accidents and collapse (all boys) were abberent, and that the other two-thirds of the group (all the girls and one-third of the boys) who constructed peaceful interior scenes or scenes of a mixed nature including both interiors and exteriors, were psychologically normal.

But Erikson does show (more clearly in his 1974b reiteration and defense of his initial article) that psychoanalysts and others must link the study of the individual with biology and history. Even though his projections of the meaning of biological differences are contestable, his implication that biological differences are important is constructive. He says:

> only a total configurational approach - somatic, historical, individual, - can help us to see single traits in context rather than in isolated and senseless comparison (1974b:334).

Just because the sociobiology and "biocultural history" (Erikson 1974b:375) written to date has frequently been anti-woman does not mean feminists should cede the study of biological difference to physiologists and biomechanicians or, more dangerously, to nonfeminist psychoanalysts, sociobiologists and social psychologists. It is imperative that those studying the

sociology of sport deal with the biology of sex differences from a feminist perspective[65]. As they do this, they must always keep in mind the cultural and historical context.

The historical context is established by referring to relations of production and reproduction. The interaction between the individual, her biological attributes, and history differs according to the economic and political structure of society. The translation of sex into gender, as demonstrated when childcare is provided predominantly by a biological mother for one or two children in a suburban home, differs from the translation demonstrated when children are raised by women in a large group day care facility, or when both men and women raise girls and boys. As the physical tasks associated with motherhood - such as food preparation, health care and education - are reduced in late capitalist society, psychological tasks have increased in number and scope. This is particularly true in the small families of the 1970's and 1980's (Sayers, 1983:78). The symbiotic phase is different for mothers who are able to devote more psychic energy to their offspring, and thus the separation-individuation phase would be of a different quality. Gender differences in these early phases would vary across time in a corresponding manner. Perhaps, with increased stress on psychological identification between mother and child, the separation process which mother and daughter go through becomes more conflictual.

Contextualizing psychoanalytic theory historically also requires an awareness of social class. Studies of infant development have all too frequently been restricted to children from homogeneous backgrounds, and researchers have made little reference to class characteristics. Yet social class has certainly been shown to be relevant to later stages of socialization, including sport socialization (Greendorfer 1983), and it is probable that this variable has a similar degree of influence on preschool development. Schneider (1975) suggests that middle class parents identify with middle class achievement and occupational norms and seek to convey these norms

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[65]Indeed, this study is urgent as positivists collect further data on sex differences in motor performance at earlier and earlier ages, and as these data are used to justify the cancellation of programs which attempt to equalize opportunities for girls and women in sports. See Monagan (1983) who reports a study by Vern Seefeldt at the Youth Sports Institute of Michigan State University which indicates that boys can outrun girls by the age of two and a half.

to their children through psychological identification. Working class parents see these norms as externally imposed, and convey them to their children as external sanctions. While such norms are not readily conveyed during preverbal stages, this class differentiated parental behavior serves as an indication of the likelihood of differential parenting at younger ages. Of course, overlaying these differences in the psychological relationships between parent and child according to social class are the very real differences in material conditions under which children are raised. Working class children do not generally have a "full time mother" and in times of unemployment, may frequently be raised in part by a father. Middle class children have greater access to necessities of life, as well as luxuries such as figure skating lessons and backyard swimming pools.

With respect to gender differentiated locomotor development, social class may have a strong effect. Though middle class girls may, together with working class girls, have a more conflicted "practicing" subphase, and though girls may be less likely than boys to develop their locomotor functions fully during this time, as the middle class girl matures, she may be encouraged by her parents toward characteristically middle class achievements typified in sports. The middle class girl can in a sense "catch up" to her brother somewhat. The working class girl would not learn this middle class achievement ethic so readily. This postulation, however, must be made in the awareness of real structural differences in opportunity for girls and working class boys to engage in sport. Even though the middle class girl may take on middle class values, she still has to contend with fewer chances to play. And even though the working class boy may have a head start in locomotor function, he, like his sister is restricted from many sport participation opportunities because of lack of class based resources such as money.

In general, mothers participate less frequently than fathers in sports, and are a less important factor in the socialization of their children into sports and physical activity (Greendorfer 1983). This is often due to their double involvement in both productive and reproductive labour. However, one cannot overlook the existence of 'working' mothers who do

engage in sport and physical recreation. Sports participation by women who do have families and paying jobs has increased in recent decades. While there are structural barriers constraining such women from participating in sport, Hall and Richardson (1982:54) point out that some "working" mothers do participate. What conclusions can be drawn from the participation of women who work at both paid and unpaid labour? Shirley Prendergast (1978) has studied "working" women's sport in England. She focusses on the game of Stoolball which is played in villages of Kent and Sussex.

Stoolball is a women's game similar to cricket, but without rigorous rules or conventions. The games are characterized by "a racy atmostphere, joking, gossip, shouting and much physical display of falling, leaping and running for the ball in which individual performance was little taken into account" (Prendergast 1978:19). The stoolball players are usually married women with young families, who work for farmers in the fields to provide a necessary addition to their family income. Prendergast makes three major points. First, stoolball is an activity which develops gender solidarity. Group cohesion improves through information exchange about family and village life. The game situation also allows assessment of whether newcomers are likely to be a positive addition to the workforce. Farmers usually hire on the basis of recommendations of their more senior workers so that someone who wanted a job would have to be accepted by those already working. The author herself was not offered farm work until after she joined the stoolball players (Prendergast 1978:20). The "initiation rite" of stoolball thus serves to increase gender solidarity.

The second theme of Prendergast's article is that stoolball is like farm work, in that it provides the spectacle of women being physically active outside the home. It is because of this sport/work association, Prendergast says, that stoolball comes in for a good deal of criticism from the men of the village. Village ideology strongly suggests that women should remain in the home but, because of the men's low wages, their wives must work at paid employment on the farm in order that families can survive financially. Therefore, instead of criticizing the economically necessary work of the women, the men criticize women's sport, which is similar in

that it occurs outside of the home, but is apparently not economically necessary.

It is important to note that the criticism of the stoolball players was based on sexual innuendo. Gossip generally suggested that players were sexually promiscuous. Prendergast develops her point that the game was taken to have sexual meanings by the men through relating a remark of an old shepherd:

> 'I'd be in two minds as to send me an old dog down there and get 'em all up for the tup.' . . . . He was saying in effect that the women were like the ewes that were, on the word of the farmer, brought up from the marshes with the rams, in order to lamb in the Spring (Prendergast 1978:19).

The men used this sort of remark to criticize women who had become productive workers. The men felt the contradiction between the patriarchal family unit and women's wage labour, and expressed their feelings by devaluing women as sexual objects. The shepherd's remark clearly depicts his belief that females are fitted for sexual intercourse and procreation, and that when they overstep these bounds they must be "herded" back. We see that ideologies related to sexuality and motherhood provoke criticism of women's wage labour, mirrored on the stoolball field.

Not only is stoolball a mirror of work, it also helps to maintain work relations. The gender solidarity, and its associated exclusion of a certain number of unsuitable female workers, helps to maintain a readily available, trained, but replaceable workforce which can be called upon to labour at low wages when needed. Therefore, the solidarity built by the women on the stoolball team does not give them power and independence. It helps to perpetuate a sexual division of labour in which women are paid so little that they must remain dependent upon another wage earner to survive.

> . . . the wage a woman earns in agriculture can still only be a supplementary one, and . . . is only viable in relation to a husband, or his substitute's, wage (Prendergast 1978:25).

These three themes which Prendergast introduces will now be restated in a more generalized sense. First, team sports can build solidarity among minority groups; among

working class men as in Palmer's baseball (Palmer 1979), or among working class mothers such as those to whom Prendergast refers. Secondly, women's sport is similar to women's paid labour, in that it occurs away from home, and often demonstrates strength and solidarity among women. It should therefore be seen as a challenge to traditional definitions of femininity, and to male dominance. However, the challenge is undermined by critiques based on the sexual behavior of sportswomen. Third, the consciousness that grows among women or workers through team sport is not necessarily progressive. That is, it need not create the will to challenge social structures which oppress minority groups. The affinity which women feel on the stoolball field might serve to sublimate or defuse the anger which can be built up privately, in the home. Full caution must be exercised before assuming that sport participation by women and mothers can have a transformative thrust. Certainly Prendergast's final remarks concerning continuing wife-beating within the village she studied show that stoolball solidarity had little effect on the fundamentally oppressive relationships which do occur between particular men and women, and between groups of men, and groups of women. The fact that women perform both productive and reproductive labour does not free them from patriarchal constraints related to sexuality.

Conclusion

A number of relationships between sport and reproductive labour have been described in this chapter. First, it has been indicated that definitions of "femininity" (part of the ideology of reproductive labour) have been reinforced or modified through female sport participation over time. Whether newly emergent forms of participation in physical activity actually challenge the notion that there is a stereotypic way in which girls and women behave is doubtful. The cornerstone of femininity, heterosexuality, has not been challenged. An added dimension to the sport-femininity relationship is the possibility that enactments of stereotypic femininity within sport and physical activity differ according to social class.

The other aspect of reproductive labour which has been discussed is the act of mothering. It has been suggested that mothering behaviors, as socially constructed within contemporary society, help to perpetuate gender inequality in sport. During infancy, boys are encouraged to separate from their mothers more than girls. This leads to an increase in the practice of locomoter functions, which in turn lays the groundwork for game and sport skills development. All of this is related to the fact that it is *women* who are primarily responsible for childcare. As well, the sports participation of working mothers has been discussed. It has been suggested that though such participation might build gender solidarity, it does not necessarily challenge fundamentally oppressive relationships, based on socially institutionalized heterosexuality and economic dependency, in the home or the workplace.

The responsibility of women for primary parenting helps to form the material basis of capitalist patriarchy described in Chapter Two. Contemporary mothering behaviors are symptomatic of the work/home separation so prevalent in patriarchal capitalist society. It will be remembered, however, that within such a society women are faced with contradictory pressures. While patriarchal ideology and patriarchal structures urge them to remain dependent in the home; capitalist ideology and structures compel them to venture into the paid workplace. It is this contradiction between the capitalist commodification of labour and patriarchal pressures to keep women in the home that is reflected in so much of our culture, including our sporting culture. In the final chapter of this thesis, the resolution of this contradiction, and its effects on gender inequality in sport will be discussed.

Chapter V

GENDER, SPORT AND LABOUR: THE FUTURE

Capitalism, patriarchy and the contradictions between capitalism and patriarchy have manifested themselves in sport in two ways which have been discussed in this dissertation. First, participation in sport is differentiated by gender; women and girls participate in sports to a lesser degree than men and boys. Second, the sporting behavior of females is qualitatively different from that of males. Much of female participation can be characterized as aesthetic and noncombative. Where women's participation is comparable to men's, their events are often shorter than men's in duration or distance. The preceeding chapters have linked these differences to specific relations within capitalist patriarchy; the separation between work and home; the commodification of female labour; the social construction of femininity; and primary parenting by women. An answer to the question "Why is there gender inequality in Canadian sport?" has been given, using a socialist feminist analysis.

But this socialist feminist project is incomplete without an assessment of the future. This evaluation must include normative statements about the tasks of socialist feminists who wish to end the oppression of workers and women. While explicit suggestions must be worked out in practice, a theoretical discussion can include some generalized statements about the broad outline of necessary change.

It must be clarified, first, that because capitalism and patriarchy are two systems, operating in conjunction, changes in patriarchal relations often affect capitalist relations. For instance, if shared parenting were to replace primary parenting by women, there would be ramifications in the productive workplace, which is the primary workplace of men. As well, if capitalist productive labour relations change, patriarchal reproductive relations often change. An historic example of this is the inclusion of women in productive labour, a change which resulted in the development and use of mechanical labour saving devices. Changes in these systems affect each other greatly, even though the material base of each system is different.

Because of the interconnectedness of capitalism and patriarchy, suggestions which are made to enhance the position of women must take capitalism into account. Feminist efforts to improve the lot of women cannot be isolated from an awareness of the power of capital.

> It is not enough to struggle for particular reforms, important as these are. Unless we understand the relationship of the various elements within the structure of male-dominated capitalism, we will find that the improvements we achieve are twisted against us, or serve one group at the expense of the rest (Rowbotham 1973:123).

In order to avoid isolated and detrimental action, it is best to keep the contradiction which is at the heart of women's oppression in mind: the capitalist pressure for women to join the labour market, versus the patriarchal pressure for women to remain dependent in the home. There are three ways in which to mitigate this contradiction. All women could take part in capitalist productive labour and domestic labour could become shared equally between men and women, or socialized. The reverse solution is that all women could return to and remain within the home, relying on monopoly capitalists (and perhaps trade unionists) to increase men's wages to family wage levels, thereby reducing profits. The third possibility is to negate both capitalist and patriarchal demands, by transforming both capitalism and patriarchy. All three solutions can be the subject of creative and far-reaching thought. But because the first solution allows the exploitation of workers to continue[46], and the second solution perpetuates the oppression of women, the third solution, ending the contradiction by transforming the social relations which create the conflicting demands, is the socialist feminist solution. The commodification of labour and primary parenting by women in the home lie at the core of struggles.

Thus, efforts to create change for a socialist feminist future must be directed at the division of labour. Because, in the last analysis, the basis of social relations lies in the concrete, material world, any real change must come about through a change in the way people perform their day to day tasks in order to survive. Hope for a socialist feminist future lies not in sloganeering, or party politics, or education, or personal development. While these are all

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[46]And this solution, some would argue, is an impossibility, because of the historic dependence of capitalism on patriarchy.

important aspects of the ongoing process of change, change will not result until the organization of work itself, both productive and reproductive work, is fundamentally altered. In essence, this means the end of both the class and sexual divisions of labour as we presently know them.

More particularly, in a socialist feminist future, childcare would be shared by men and women, and women would no longer depend on male wages. This means that the family-household system, which relies on the female parent to take primary responsibility for children, should no longer prevail, and also that even in collectivized systems of childcare such as daycares, men and women should be represented equally as childcarers. If childcare were shared, infants of both genders would have to differentiate themselves from adults of the opposite sex. Parents of each sex would be more likely to encourage opposite sex children to differentiate. Under current arrangements wherein a woman is the primary parent, mothers are more likely to push their sons to differentiate, because of closer identification with daughters.

Together with shared parenting must come a change in the style of parenting of men and women. Traditionally, when men have become involved with children, they have attempted to provide a "masculine role model" for boys and a heterosexual object for girls (Chodorow 1978:217). This involvement has served to support the formation of traditional gender roles and heterosexual orientation. However, institutionalized heterosexuality and socially constructed masculinity and femininity have formed part of the material base of capitalist patriarchy. This basis can be undermined if children are dependent from birth on parents or caretakers of both genders, and develop their identity in relation to both men and women. The development of the masculine personality will no longer be tied to the denial of the feminine and the rejection of women (cf Chapter Two). The heterosexual imperative would no longer be enforced.

But this change in relations of reproductive labour must be effected together with change in productive labour relations. Women's dependence on men's wages is a cornerstone

to their economic dependence. Shared reproductive labour goes some distance to the creation of gender equality, because such sharing would mean that men and women were equally affected by their reproductive responsibilities. However, the root of economic dependency lies in the exploitative labour relations within capitalism. Even if women and men begin to share childcare, because they live in a capitalist system they must still sell their labour to capitalists. Because they are propertyless, the working class must labour for owners, and give over some of the value of their labour to the capitalist class. Until private property is abolished, the contradiction between labour and capital continues.

The changes which have been suggested are encompassing, and cannot be specified except through the struggles of people in history. Thus, they may appear to be abstract and impractical. As well, the relationship between the broad social and political changes and sport may not be apparent. It might be presumed that sport, as a cultural manifestation of capitalist patriarchy, would have little role in revolutionary struggle. Indeed it has been demonstrated that sport as a cultural product conveys much of the ideology which has helped to perpetuate social relations that are oppressive to women. Perhaps sport, like the wage labour relationship and socially constructed mothering, should be abolished.

But just as sport can be a carrier of dominant ideologies, it can help counter ideologies to emerge. There is no necessary relationship between cultural form and ideological content. Female judokas can demonstrate the disciplined use of force as part of femininity, just as female figure skaters can embody the ethereal passivity associated with traditional femininity. While cultural forms are constrained within the bounds of patriarchal and capitalist material relations, they are not absolutely limited. Determinant relations do not exist for all time. Human beings can act freely within a structured world, under certain constraints. Thus, the sporting activities of women and men can be part of a socialist feminist revolutionary struggle, in that they can affect people's ideologies, and consciousness.

It must also be recognized that because two systems are operating within capitalist patriarchy, struggle can take place for women's rights separately from the struggle to end

capitalism. Thus, some efforts for gender equality in Canadian sport are liberal in orientation. These struggles, centering on the rights of individual women, do not directly attack capitalist relations, and in fact middle class women often use their class privilege in order to gain rights for women. Such gains are worthy objectives in and of themselves, because they enhance the position of some women compared to some men. However, liberal reform has radical socialist possibilities as well. Zillah Eisenstein in her book The Radical Future of Liberal Feminism (1981) evaluates feminist work for the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment as an instance of liberal reform which has radical potential. As a necessary but not sufficient strategy for feminists, the ERA battle reflects and highlights the nature of women's oppression. The amendment points out that women are discriminated against not because of their qualities as individuals, but because they are a member of a group, a "sex-class" which is perceived to have certain characteristic needs and abilities. This indeed is a radical insight, with which socialist feminist change can be stimulated. Though the tactic of amending a law pertaining to individual rights is liberal, the perspective upon which this tactic is based (seeing women as members of a collective group) is radical and necessary as a preliminary to the development of socialist feminist change. The ERA and section 15 of the Canadian Charter of Rights[67] are first steps in building consciousness about the necessity of the destruction of male supremacy and capitalism as systems of power. As women begin to see how liberal reforms are not sufficient to supply equality to women because they do not alter the division of labour upon which inequality is based, there is the potential for their further radicalization. Changes in sport as a form of culture, even changes which assist only individual middle class women, can be part of a revolutionary struggle.

Keeping in mind the necessity of consciousness raising, and the worth of the separate struggle for women, the possibilities of effective change in and through sport can be stated more specifically. Four aspects of sport and social change can be addressed: sport and consciousness, reproductive labour and change in sport; productive labour and change in sport;

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[67]A section which states that every individual is equal before and under the law without discrimination based on sex (among other characteristics).

and sport and the state. As tools of revolutionary struggle, sporting practices, like other cultural forms, are directed at people's consciousness. But sport also embodies practices which replicate the productive and reproductive labour relations of capitalist patriarchy, and these practices can be countered on the sporting grounds, as well as in factories and homes. Finally, it is necessary to consider and specify possible uses of the state in revolutionary struggle, as the state is highly involved in sport, in other cultural forms, and in social life in general.

Sport and Consciousness

Michelle Barrett (1980) points out that cultural forms such as sport have a liberatory potential with regard to gender as well as class relations. While she indicates that culture alone is not liberatory, the struggles over the meaning of gender which occur in literature (or sport) is vital, because they can "play an incalculable role in the raising of consciousness and transformation of our subjectivity" (1980:113). While Barrett refers to feminist art and literature to illustrate her points, popular cultural forms such as sport can also be examined. Sport as a particular cultural form can make a special, even unique contribution in this consciousness raising process. Because sport is a practice whose object is the body, women's participation in sport can challenge ideological notions about females which are at the heart of the contradiction between capitalism and patriarchy. Female sports confront the viewpoint which is central to the oppression of women: that anatomy is destiny. More so than literature, or painting, or even dance, competitive sport contests the notion that women are defined by their reproductive capacity. It is the hegemonic belief that women are limited by their natural capacity to mother which supports the capitalist patriarchal division of work and home, and confines women to the home and ghettoized productive labour.

Mary O'Brien (1981) points out that some of the limits of anatomy have been transcended through the revolutionary availability of birth control in the twentieth century. But she indicates that this change in the material substructure of human life must be a preliminary to another social development; the articulation of women's second nature. She

points out that while men have articulated both their biological (first) nature and their socio-historical (second) nature, women have yet to elaborate on their own second nature, theoretically or in practice.

> Women are necessarily about to embark upon the elaboration of their second nature. Like men, we have to first speculate upon the nature of this nature, and like men we have to establish the values which are to be strengthened and the strategies to be developed (1981:194).

Janet Sayers (1982) in a comprehensive analysis of the way in which biology is theorized by feminists and anti-feminists concludes that a struggle must still be waged to overcome the ideology which limits women's equal rights based on biological difference. She reminds her readers that victories on issues such as abortion are limited, and under renewed attack. The viewpoints of O'Brien and Sayers reiterate those of Simone de Beauvoir, who sets out the patriarchal dualities which associate women with nature and men with culture, but asserts, "woman is determined not by her hormones or by mysterious instincts, but by the manner in which her body and her relation to the world are modified through the action of others than herself (de Beauvoir 1952:806). De Beauvoir states that economic change is necessary, but also that "moral, social and cultural" change must occur if women are to achieve equality.

Women's sports represent the notion that consciousness is not determined by anatomy, and destiny is socially structured. Games are consciously controlled bodily acts; they are not involuntary or 'natural'. Sports played by women and girls symbolize powerfully that female humans have a second nature. Women's second nature is the same as men's in that second nature results from the full development of our human reasoning abilities. The ability to plan, then execute, to think before we do, or to be conscious, is shared by all humanity. Reason is a first order biological trait which, used over time in social situations, provides the foundation for our second nature.

So women's sports are liberating because they represent the *conscious* use of the female body, rather than an unconscious, 'natural' involuntary use. This defies the notion, grounded in a false understanding of the process of pregnancy and birth, that women's bodies are

receptacles, storerooms, and organic responders which reproduce biologically in the same way in which female animals reproduce. Women's sports imply that women may use their bodies out of choice, rather than merely because nature demands that they do so. Through their own participation in sport, women can become conscious of the potential use of their body in situations unrelated to pregnancy, childcare, genital sexual expression and other forms of reproductive labour.

Another change in women's consciousness can result from sport participation, as well. This change can come about as a result of any collective action that women perform together, such as quilting bees or Tupperware parties. Team sports are a group experience, rather than a singular experience. They can become a basis for female friendship, sisterhood or "the radical friendship of hags" which Mary Daly describes in Gyn/Ecology (1979) as a:

> friendship . . . possible because (women) have come out from under male imposed veils/covers/identities, sparking forth their Selves. . . reclaiming female heritage. By acknowledging their radical aloneness, they have learned to bond a friendship (Daly 1978:366-7).

Female bonding in sport must be different from the much discussed male bonding which has occurred in sports and on the battlefield (Sabo and Runfola 1980; Gerzon 1982). Daly points out that such male bonding requires the loss of individual identity, a strong allegiance to hierarchy, recourse to violence and the threat of violence, and the presence of an enemy. In sisterhood, conversely, women preserve their sense of self and therefore their differences; work collectively and nonhierarchically; and bond regardless of the presence of an enemy.

But a change in consciousness which heightens the awareness of women's bodily potentials beyond the reproductive, and helps women to see themselves as a collectivity rather than as individuals is not an automatic result of sports participation. Sisterhood does not exist just because women play on a team together. Autocratic coaching techniques which require a rigid hierarchy to be effective preclude sisterhood. In competitions where teams see the opposition as people to defeat, rather than friends with whom to cooperate, sisterhood is impossible. Sports training procedures which require the body to submit to externally imposed

dictates regardless of pain, injury or the disruption of normal growth do not allow the self-acceptance and preservation which is necessary in sisterhood. And, because of the important relationship between coach and athletes, women's teams which are coached by a male cannot be a place of sisterhood. Indeed, the majority of women's and girls' sporting situations are not a sisterhood[61].

Similarly, a change in consciousness with regard to the female body cannot emerge in many sporting situations. When female athletes (like male athletes) are subjected to training procedures which are painful, debilitating, and not freely chosen, the ideology that women should make their bodies subject is perpetrated. There are similarities between being treated by an obstetrician and being coached; in both instances women often have to make their bodies 'produce' under the direction of a (usually male) authority. As well, in sport many athletes have internalized the directions of the coach, and push themselves beyond healthy physical limits in order to set records. Though the "higher, faster, farther" mentality of Olympians and other elite athletes can be liberating for women because it can make women conscious of their bodies' abilities in nonreproductive spheres of endeavor, this mentality is a double-edged sword, because it can also lead women to abuse their bodies.

Many of the abuses within sports result from an emphasis on winning. Competition is the mainstay of sport. There has been much debate over the competitive aspects of sport, ranging from neomarxist critiques of competitive sport as a reflection of capitalist and state capitalist alienated labour (Brohm 1978) to liberal practitioners' attempts to develop cooperative games as an alternative to competitive sport for children (Orlick and Botterill 1975). The development of women's sport reflects this tension over the value of competition. For the past one hundred years there have always been liberal advocates of women's rights to participate in any sport at any level of competitive excellence, and more radical separatist feminists who have suggested that women should not engage in the competitive excesses characterized by male sport (Hall 1968; Hall and Richardson 1981; Kennard 1977). The

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[61]In 1980, only thirteen percent of coaches of Canadian national teams were women (Hall and Richardson 1982:59).

question of competition is important for socialists and feminists. In the abstract, it can be determined that within competition there are elements of both conflict and cooperation. Teams cannot compare themselves and struggle against each other unless they first cooperate on decisions about the limitations of the contest, and have a shared conception of the rules and their enforcement. Perhaps the ratio between the emphasis on conflict and the emphasis on cooperation depends on the importance attached to winning, usually related to available extrinsic and intrinsic rewards. If rewards are high and available only to winners, competition is characterised by conflict. If rewards are lower and/or can be enjoyed by both teams, cooperation and sharing are more important. Whether or not competition is problematic for women becomes, then, a question to be answered historically rather than theoretically. Some types of competition because they encourage brutal conflict may be oppressive to women (and men). Other types may be encouraged because they generate cooperation. In a larger sense, whether or not sports participation raises consciousness among women of their own oppression and their potentials beyond the reproductive sphere depends upon the particular practices embodied in each sporting situation.

These sporting practices must be addressed more specifically. Previous chapters have shown how practices in sport are reflective of reproductive and productive labour. However, because human agents can make their own history, sporting practices can be modified. Traditionally, sports have reflected a gender ideology and reproductive labour relations which enhance capitalist patriarchy. That is, traditional femininity (passivity and artifice) have been reproduced in many sports, and women have been excluded and restricted in other sports so as to enhance notions of traditional masculinity (strength and aggressiveness). As well, children have been socialized into sports in ways which are reflective of socially constructed parenting in which the mother is primary. Alternatives to these traditions are possible.

Productive labour relations are also reflected strongly in sports. The exploitation of labour in professional sports has been made apparent in previous chapters, and the abuses associated with professional sport must be interpreted. Ways to overcome such problems must

be developed. The methods of struggling against traditional productive and reproductive relations as they exist, are reflected in, and are perpetuated by sports will be discussed in the following sections of this chapter.

Reproductive Labour and Change in Sport

The consideration of reproductive labour with respect to sport lends itself to strategic planning which O'Brien (1981) has suggested is part of the elaboration of women's second nature. O'Brien concludes her book by emphasizing the importance of the "large army of allies" which women have in their children. She asserts the importance of combining psychoanalytic theory with insights of Marxism and feminism (1981:162) in order to understand the development of consciousness in early life. These new understandings can be utilized to create new relations of reproduction and new patterns of parenting. Such seemingly mundane changes as having Dad stay home to change the diapers are the grounds upon which a new society can be realized. "In practice, given the historical material upheaval in the substructure of the social relations of reproduction, the private realm is where the new action is" (O'Brien 1981:208).

Simple recommendations with regard to early childhood locomotor development can be offered as part of the 'reproductive revolution'. The interpretation of Chodorow (1978) and Mahler (1975) shows that because boys learn to differentiate from their mothers or female caretakers during a more pleasurable subphase of infancy in which they are allowed more freedom, they develop their locomotor capacities to a greater extent. An obvious solution to this inequality is that men should nurture during these early phases to the same extent as women. If men were present in the preschool environment with the frequency of women, girls would have to test their spatial limits as they differentiate from their fathers and other males just as much as boys. Chodorow explains:

> Any strategy for change whose goal includes liberation from the constraints of an unequal social organization of gender must take account of the need for a fundamental reorganization of

> parenting, so that primary parenting is shared between men and women (Chodorow 1978:215).

Shared parenting will not be simple to attain, for merely having father dandle the baby after work does not constitute equal sharing. Fathers must participate in all aspects of parenting, for relatively equal amounts of time, taking relatively equal amounts of responsibility. This then will require that men learn and perform the cooking, cleaning and mending skills that are necessary to reproductive labour as well. More problematically it would mean that the productive workplace would have to bear the strain of its workers taking on additional labour, and thus being unable to sustain the same level of effort in their paid labour. Medical doctors, for instance, could no longer work twelve hours per day on difficult tasks requiring heavy concentration if they had to parent for five hours each morning. Factory labourers could not work swing shifts every third week if they were responsible for evening parenting on the nights when their wives worked outside the home.

Equal reproductive labour by men and women would also require that men work in day cares and elementary schools to the same extent that women do. Currently men do not fill such positions as frequently as women. Attitudes that child care is "women's work" are major perpetrators of this situation, but the most salient reason for the low representation of men in such fields is the low pay for daycare workers, and the relatively low pay for elementary school teachers, compared to their equally educated counterparts such as those with engineering degrees. As long as men are required to earn a family wage performing productive labour, while women are expected to perform reproductive labour in the home, men will not take the low paying jobs if there are higher paying jobs available[69]. Here again the tangled relationship between capitalism and patriarchy is evident.

But change in childcare need not await the influx of men into daycare centers or into homes as coparents. Women can change their ways of behaving toward children. There is much scope for improvement in the relationship between mothers and daughters in early phases

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[69]In this respect, recent high rates of unemployment may cause a shift in the sex ratio of employees in some jobs, when men enter female job ghettos because they have been laid off from their traditionally male jobs.

of locomotor development, after the child begins to walk. Conscious ways of socializing boys such as playing catch, "roughhousing", and racing which fathers have enjoyed with sons can be employed by mothers with their daughters. Greendorfer (1983) has pointed out the influence of fathers on daughters who have eventually become involved in sport. Perhaps if more mothers encouraged their daughters in physical play and games, many more girls would participate in sport at a later stage. This development would entail the physical education of relatively inactive mothers. Women who have had previous negative experiences with games and physical education skill development would have to be re-educated to take pride in their bodies and join enthusiastically in playful movement. Community recreational activites and physical fitness programs go some distance toward this goal. Further programs, with the explicit purpose of preparing mothers to encourage their daughters' physical development should be created. However, such programs must avoid 'blaming the victim' by suggesting to mothers that they have an individual problem such as being overweight or unskilled, without contextualizing these 'problems' within larger social relations. Physical and fitness education must include education about the social constraints against women's fitness and physical activity, and suggestions as to how to battle such constraints.

There is a class bias in the advocacy of such programs. Women must have leisure time if they are to develop their own physical skills and encourage their daughters to do the same. Working class women who have a paid job and work in the home have less available time than middle class women who work full time in the home[70]. And middle class professional women often work in an atmosphere where physical recreation is available and encouraged, such as an educational institution or a business establishment with a gymnasium or a joggers' club. The middle class success ethic also enhances the opportunity for middle class women to physically educate themselves, by providing motivation. Finally, middle class women have the financial means to employ babysitters.

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[70]This is not to indicate that middle class women have more free time, only that those who work solely in the home can structure preparation for childcare (such as a physical activity class) into their work more easily.

So the methods for creating gender equality in Canadian sport are conditioned by the Canadian class structure. A liberal suggestion to offer physical education opportunities to individual mothers is a necessary but insufficient answer. Although such a solution may be comforting for those who want to take action because it is workable, this remedy will be only partial in revolutionary socialist feminism. This is because as long as reform is on an individual scale, economic class inequality and capitalist productive relations will exist. For the socialist feminist, class inequality is as unnacceptable as gender inequality, because opression in whatever form is wrong. But more importantly, capitalist patriarchal labour relations are founded on a sexual division of labour. Individualist reform does little to address the sex-class basis of capitalist patriarchy. Revolutionary action must center on women *as a group*. The winning of individual rights in sports is an important preliminary to a successful socialist feminist revolution, but eventually actions which change the position of women and the working class must be enacted. Such actions have been suggested with regard to reproductive labour. Productive labour relations must also be addressed.

Productive Labour and Change in Sport

In order for exploitation within the sphere of productive labour to end, private property and wage-labour must be abolished. But this cannot happen overnight. Small advances must be made. There are a series of struggles taking place within liberal and social democratic countries to attempt to increase the wages of workers, and there are similar struggles waged by working women to try and attain wages which are equal to men's wages. Such action can take a variety of forms. Unionization, if carefully organized so as to avoid discrimination against women within the union itself, is one method of striving for better wages and the provision of daycare[71]. Legislation is another means. Educational institutions must also be confronted, and made to provide equal opportunities for all children of both genders to train for any job or profession. Finally, affirmative action programs must be implemented so

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[71]Daycare should not be seen as a privilege for the working mother, but as a right of all working people. It is as necessary as public schooling for society.

that women can enter higher paying jobs.

Worker action exists within commodified sports as well. Player associations have bargained for minimum wages and retirement security in prominent professional sports, and have taken strike action in some cases. Over time, unions have become stronger and more vocal. But a number of factors mitigate against strong unions in professional sports. For instance, players compete against each other and the rivalries which develop on the playing field can make a close, friendly working relationship in a union difficult to achieve. Secondly, professional sports careers are short, and a strike of even a part of a season's duration could reduce lifetime earnings significantly. Thirdly, the skills of the professional athlete are inherent to the individual, and therefore cannot be priced out in the same way that mail sorting or typing can be. Football pass catching is a limited skill which very few people can perform. Finally, the conservative ideology of some athletes may preclude a consideration of unionization.

These problems are characteristic of both men's and women's professional sport. Positive change for women in sport will take a similar course as for men. But because of the great differences between men's and women's professional sports in history, volume and style, further considerations must be applied when taking gender into account. A comparison can be made of prominent men's and women's professional sport in order to determine the impact of gender. The most popular and lucrative men's professional sports in Canada are football and hockey. Canadian women take part in figure skating, tennis and golf at the elite professional level. While Canadian men do take part in these latter three sports, the Canadian male professional athletic population is dominated by those who engage in body contact, team sports[72]. These sports are fast, complex and aggressively played. Both football and hockey have also been criticized for their violent nature. Much discussion has centered on the effects

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[72] There are approximately 180 Canadian professional football players and 360 Canadian professional ice hockey players, while there are less than 100 Canadian male athletes who make their living at other professional sports (See NHL and CFL rosters).

of violence[73] in professional sport on children, the social psychological causes of violence, and possible ways of reducing violence (Smith 1982). There has been minimal discussion of the relationship between masculinity and violence. As well, there has been little effort to situate violence in an historical setting with respect to gender relations. Male violence in ice hockey is akin to male physical dominance and the use of violence in many other settings. Warfare, for instance, is an activity which has been almost exclusively male. Male violence and physical force must be contextualized, if they are to be understood fully.

The male monopoly of physical force and arms extends into antiquity. Anthropological theories give some explanation of male dominance in this realm. Friedl (1975) says that because women in shifting agricultural tribes carried burdens, food and children, they did not hunt large game, and therefore did not master the use of tools/weapons such as spears as well as men. Men therefore became responsible for warfare. A second reason for warfare becoming a responsibility of males is that a population can survive the loss of men more easily than a loss of women. This is because of the different contribution which each sex makes to reproduction of the species. One male can impregnate many females, so there need not be a great many males, if the species is to continue[74].

Sport can be seen as a cultural re-enactment of warlike behavior. Anthropological evidence supports this theory. Reed (1975) uses evidence gathered by Chapple and Coon (1942) to support her contention that modern sports and games have evolved from primitive fighting. Today's ball games and dart games use terminology and strategies which devolved from warfare. This evolution from war to sport is also seen in the fact that the earliest sports took place at the time of mortuary ceremonies. The ancient Olympics were held as Funeral games honoring distinguished individuals or large numbers of men who had died on the battlefield (Reed 1975:233-5; Guttmann 1978:20-2). Guttmann (1978:22) notes the

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[73] Here violence is defined as any aggressive action or threat of action which is performed with the intent to injure.

[74] Friedl also concludes, with Gough (1975) and Burstyn (1983) that male dominance in state structures arises because of male control of warfare (Friedl 1975:34-6).

important symbolism in the announcement of the Olympic truce prior to the Games, and in the awarding of olive branches signifying peace. Women were excluded from all aspects of the Olympics, even spectatorship[75].

Recently, feminist theorist Nancy Huston (1982) has turned her attention to modern day metaphors for war. She says that there is a need for popular media to tell a story about war in order to separate human from animal violence. Such cultural narrative reenacts courage, the history of incidents, reversals, escalation of aggression and denouement related to wars, in an effort to explain them. "Wars are never over until the right to describe them has been appropriated by one side" (Huston 1982:274). Huston develops her thesis that stories of war must fill the gap between the brutal reality of war, and the ideology about war, especially by casting archetypal male and female characters. She uses prose as her primary example of media forms which fill the narrative gap, but also refers to film and poetry. Huston explains that while men are the warriors in tales of war, women invariably form a captive audience for masculine exploits. By shedding tears for their fallen men, they provide a reason for war to continue, even when the atrocities of war have been exposed. In war, women represent a pretext, booty, rest and recreation, entertainment, casualities, and even the values of peace and virtue themselves. In sum, if women were not 'present in their absence' on the battlefield, ***nothing would happen worth writing about*** (Huston 1982:275).

One media form which Huston does not explore is sport[76]. Yet some sports, the body contact team sports and individual combative sports such as boxing wherein injury regularly occurs, are a reconstruction of warlike behavior. In novels and films, and in life, girlfriends, mothers and cheerleaders perform the reactive duties such as cheering, nursing and motivating the heroic athlete/warrior. The hockey wife bears a striking resemblance to the young bride, left at home while her husband is fighting his battles for her, and for his team/nation. In the sporting world, too, we find many counterparts to Huston's "Madonna", a mother who when

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[75]The Priestess of Demeter was allowed to view proceedings.

[76] The term media is used in its generic sense to mean that which mediates, or is an intermediary, giving messages. Marshall McLuhan (1964) sees modern games and sports as media which dramatize our inner psychological lives, collectively.

her son is forced to go to war, becomes a female hysteric, or (more usually) an uncomprehending woman. We also find that just as some women have accepted literary narrative, they have also accepted sport narrative, and some want to become hockey players and warriors just like men.

Some sports, like literature, can fill the narrative gap between the violent reality and the ideology. Football, too, can help us to imagine that warlike behavior is human, by casting archetypal male and female figures. Only the form of the story differs from literary narratives; the message remains the same. But the action in a sporting situation can change, therefore changing the metaphors. If violence is eliminated from sports such as football and hockey, these sporting events will no longer be a dramatization of *masculine* physical dominance and violence, and thus a reenactment of war. If we change our war metaphors by excluding archetypal male violence, then the narrative gap between human and animal violence will no longer be filled. After all of the metaphors have faded, war may be recognized as what it is: irrational violence between men which should stop"[11].

Perhaps a renewed sports metaphor which eliminates violence, when imprinted upon young boys' minds, will insert a different cultural narrative. There is a ready sporting corpus with which to create a new masculine metaphor, to be found in the already described "feminine" sports. Rather than discarding ringette, synchronized swimming and gymnastics with musical accompaniment as too feminine and oppressive, boys should be encouraged to take part in them. As Canadian male figure skaters have shown, men can perform successfully and happily in expressive sports where their bodies are not combative instruments. There are in fact small numbers of boys who, under scrutiny, are learning to play ringette and swim in

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[11] A ready example of a sport which eliminates the violent aspects found in professional hockey is "Oldtimers'" hockey, which does not allow the body check. In this sport, the beauty, speed and strategy of the sport is maintained, while injurious actions and fighting are virtually eliminated. Football, however, is a different matter. The controlled aggression of a football block is often injurious in itself, even if the blocker did not intend to injure. Similarly, the fullback who 'puts his head down' as he crashes through the line can easily injure himself. If violent injuries are to be eliminated from football, many rule changes would have to be implemented. Indeed it is questionable whether noninjurious football is possible.

sychronization with the girls. The qualities of femininity should remain, integrated with the qualities of masculinity among boys and girls, or men and women who play together or in separate groups, side by side.

This advocacy of men and boys playing the sports which have been considered feminine suggests the converse solution that women and girls should play sports like hockey and football. But such liberalism is too simple. Each physical activity must be evaluated. Some sports are violent and unnecessarily injurious, and should not be engaged in at all. Boxing is the paramount example of such a sport. Some feminists have objected to discrimination against women in boxing, on the basis that women should not be prohibited from any activity based on their sex. But, as the controversy over women taking combat roles in the Canadian military shows (Globe and Mail May 20, 1985, p. 1), the liberal position that every individual should share equal rights leads to advocacy of opportunities for all to engage in dangerous pursuits. While women should not be discriminated against with respect to boxing, such discrimination should be ended, not by allowing women to box, but by outlawing boxing.

Laws against women boxing suggest a larger issue: state involvement in sports programs. State actions with respect to sport have a large impact on gender inequality. As well, state structures can be utilized by women and the working class as they work toward a socialist feminist future. The constraints and possibilities associated with sport's relationship to the state will now be discussed.

The State and Change in Sport

The efficacy of state programs in solving women's problems has been addressed in the context of the division of labour, and especially with reference to reproductive labour and the maintenance of the traditional family[71]. State intervention into the organization and financing of sports and games can be seen as part of the "normalization" of practices relating to families, which fall within the "private" domain. As Laurin-Frenette (1983) points out, since the

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[71]See Barrett (1980, Chapter 7); Eisenstein (1981); McIntosh (1978); Stevenson (1983); Burstyn (1983); Jensen (1985).

nineteenth century the bourgeois family has become increasingly separated from public life. In order to help families to maintain their autonomy, state employees such as social workers, doctors, teachers and public health workers operate to smooth over or "normalize" any difficulties within the private domain. State employees in fact assume many of the responsibilities of the family. Even where nongovernmental bodies (such as sports governing bodies) intervene to provide family support (eg. organizing a car pool or facilitating a fund raising drive), the state supplies these organizations with part of the necessary technical, legal and financial resources. The welfare state has taken over from families in providing sports services. The effect of this takeover is that the authority of the family, vested in the father, is transferred to the state. This has been called social patriarchy (Ursel 1983:97), a situation in which the state reinforces traditional family structures by solving problems created within and/or insoluble by these structures.

The substitution of state support for family support in the sports world is similar to the liberalisation of family law and the emergence of children's rights within the family. These policies appear to undermine patriarchy, but in effect they reinforce family patriarchy by helping to alleviate or at least suppress problems inherent within it. The root of all these efforts to solve familial problems is the fact that the state must mediate between the patriarchal necessity for women to perform reproductive labour in the home, and the contradictory capitalist need for them to perform paid labour (Ursel 1983:96). Feminists must therefore be wary of state efforts to replace traditional family services such as recreational programs, thereby supporting traditional family structures which are based on women's economic dependence. Provisions made for young athletes by state institutions must be considered in this light"[19].

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[19] This is not to say that state intevention within sport is the sole, or necessary *cause* of any breakdown of family sport. As Howell and Howell (1969:144) note, television was a major force in changing sport participation patterns. Other factors influencing changing family association over time include relative family wealth, demographic patterns and patterns of productive labour. State provision of sport to individuals may have assisted in the breakdown of family sport participation patterns, by capitalizing on changes which were already taking place.

State programs have been somewhat effective at the national level for women. Programs such as the Women's Program of Fitness and Amateur Sport (Vail 1983) have focussed on the development of athletes, coaches and administrators. While many women have been trained through this program, such programs may be class biased if middle and upper class women benefit disproportionately from them. For example, Sport Canada's coaching apprenticeship program and the internship program for women athletes require a university degree of prospective participants. This automatically biases the programs in favour of more economically privileged women, as these are the women who secure degrees (Forcese 1980). And it is important that the whole concept of highly competitive athleticism (which is implied in the specialized development of coaches and athletes) be considered from a socialist feminist perspective. While the possibility of excellence is not denied by socialist feminists, and the need for specialized, intensive training in order to achieve excellence is recognized, a proper balance must be maintained between providing for the needs of the excellent few and ensuring that the need for all people to enjoy healthy physical recreation is met[89].

Even though state programs in sport have in the past emphasized the elite athlete at the expense of the recreational sports participant and provided more opportunities and support for middle class women at the same time that they enhanced social patriarchy, there are reasons to maintain state support for sport. Liberal interventions which promote opportunities for individuals who come mainly from the middle class can be justified as a preliminary step to progressive change. One justifying reason relates to the credentialism which has become a prominent aspect of many federal programs. If national sports governing bodies are to receive money to support the training and employment of coaches, they must demonstrate a continuing commitment to the National Coaching Certification Program (NCCP). This commitment entails the development of the curriculum for various technical courses for individuals who want to be certified as a coach by the NCCP. As well, they must provide personnel to offer

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[89]This is not to suggest that the high performance athlete should feel beholden to the state for helping her to engage in an "unnecessary" pursuit. If excellence in athletics is seen as a social end which can be achieved, then the top athlete should be paid, just like any other worker. Cultural labour is a form of productive labour.

these courses to the public on a regular basis, and must ensure that sufficient numbers of individuals become certified at various levels. While these responsibilities are not generally financially onerous, in that the clinics are paid for by the CAC and other government bodies, the time commitment of various coach trainees is significant (Bray 1981).

Such credentialism may be beneficial for women, in two ways. First, the attainment of coaching status, with the certification program in place, is based on achieved characteristics: the mastery of certain objective and predefined knowledge and skills. Prior to the implementation of the NCCP, coaches were selected on less certain, more subjective bases. While experience was certainly the most important criteria for elite level coaching, at the level of the beginning coach (which an individual must pass through in order to gain experience) the potential coach was most often selected on the basis of ascribed characteristics - most often sex[81]. With the implementation of the coaching certification program, there is a greater likelihood of people being encouraged to coach on the basis of their credentials, not solely because of their sex. The second advantage of the NCCP for women is that it formalizes training procedures. In the past, men became coaches informally, usually after retiring as athletes. This perpetuated the high incidence of male coaches. Now, with Level I coaching courses directed at individuals who have no previous experience, people who have never participated in a particular sport can coach that sport at the recreational level. This change is particularly beneficial for the large number of mothers who may never have participated in sport in their youth, but who may wish to coach their children. The credentialism imposed by the state on sports governing bodies helps to put an end to the traditional means of recruiting coaches, which very often discriminated against women.

The above example of the evolution toward more bureaucratic modes of operation is one symptom of a large shift that has gone on within the governance of Canadian sport over the past decade. Leaders in sport have set aside traditional ways of administrating their

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[81]This continues today. A minister in the United States who keeps data about all his parishoners in a computer file, demonstrated the computer's efficiency in retrieving a list of possible soccer coaches by asking it for a list of all *males* interested in sports. Time, March 24, 1984.

organizations, and have begun to use modern management techniques. This modernization has been of direct benefit to women in that the criterion of sex has in some ways been eliminated as a way of judging individuals within an organization. Studies do show continued low representation of women within administration and coaching (Hall and Richardson 1982:59-64; Vickers and Gosling 1984) and this is of concern. However, it must be admitted that in the last fifteen years, corresponding to changes in state intervention in sport, women have increased their representation (Hollands and Gruneau 1980). As Parkin (1972) has pointed out with regard to social class, state implemented requirements of credentialism can serve to assist minority groups to achieve status in the leadership of an organization which is commensurate with their membership in the group.

There are further more broadly political reasons for maintaining middle class state promoted efforts to achieve gender equality. One reason is that fighting for any equality helps people develop a consciousness of all forms of inequality. Often women who struggle for their own rights as women quickly learn that other people have rights which are being violated, too. Feminist actions, including those which have been related to sports, have often provided training for socialists[12]. Secondly, feminist struggle builds political skills which can be used in class struggle. For instance, the ability to persuade sports officials, government representatives and entrepreneurs to support women's soccer can be used to encourage the development of an inner city soccer league for disadvantaged children. But the utlization of these skills depends on the recognition of class inequality, as well as of discrimination against individual women. Such a consciousness raising process requires a political education which is based not only in the sports stadium, but also in the workplace and in other cultural forums. There must be links made between middle class women fighting for equality in sports, with working class women whose gender oppression is manifested in different ways. Women must also unite with working class men in the workplace, so that the effort to end oppression may be broadly based and focussed on the fundamental basis of oppression: the capitalist patriarchal division of labour.

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[12]This may be more true of progressive movements in Europe than in North America.

Isolated actions by middle class women in the sports field, while necessary as initial endeavors which can help to raise consciousness, are not enough in themselves[13]. The barriers between oppressed groups (in sport and elsewhere) must be levelled.

The United Struggle for Change in Sports

In order to level the barriers between groups, women's groups must join together with the working class movement to effect progressive change in sports. Such progressive coalition is best embodied in a working class women's group. However, because women from the working class are doubly oppressed, they have less time, energy and support than other groups. Therefore, coalitions between middle class women's groups and working class groups such as trade unions which consist mostly of men must be formed. This is difficult even in grass roots political movements which are interested in 'bread and butter' issues such as equal pay. Such coalitions may be even more difficult for those striving for reform in sports, because often working class males participate in sports as an expression of their masculinity. Such males might be amongst the most vocal in advocating discrimination against females in sport. Similarly, middle class female athletes often uphold the ethics of solitary achievement, which sometimes precludes any strong support for working class groups who wish to equalize pay and expose the myth that hard work will ensure success and upward mobility in any job.

One issue around which women and working class men might coalesce is employee fitness. There has been an increase in state support of fitness programs for employees in various sized firms recently, but these programs have been utilized by middle class workers more than the working class (Paton 1984). As well, such programs have focussed on poor

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[13]However, isolated, separate actions by women are useful and necessary. Women's sports can provide a needed escape from the male dominated world. Women and girls want, need and have used escape mechanisms as a resistance to the constraints placed upon them in the private sphere and the ghettoized workplace. This escape is what Virginia Woolf longs for in A Room of One's Own. But Woolf's escape was to the individualistic task of writing in a room by herself. For women, competitive team sport in a gym of their own provides an escape to a collectivity. Though separate action must always be monitored so that it does not become an end in itself (allowing that for some women separatism is the only method of retaining mental health), it is a necessary complement to struggles together with men.

fitness as a problem stemming from individual inadequacies, thus placing the worker at fault. Instead of this approach, unions and employee associations could bargain for fitness programs as part of a benefit package, rather than waiting for government or management to impose such programs. Union leaders could capitalize on the growing interest amongst young working women in weight training, and negotiate for a site, equipment, instruction and ancillary facilities for weight training classes. This sort of campaign might be launched by the union's health committee, who could place the onus on management to comply with health and safety standards.

Trade unions could also be the site of a renewed workers' sports movement, and women workers could assure that women's sports and integrated sports were as prominent as men's sports within such a movement. The success of "slow pitch" softball in commercial leagues suggests that there is an interest amongst workers in a recreational, workplace-based league. Again, progressive leaders could incorporate such enthusiasm within an expressly political agenda, alongside other issues such as flexible work scheduling, and in the process, perhaps raising the consciousness of workers and management. The mere act of changing management sponsorship of a community league team to workers sponsorship might create needed debate about the freedom and control that Canadian workers can and should exercise in their daily lives. Working women would have to ensure throughout such debate that gender issues were addressed in conjunction with class issues.

Progressive reform in sport which addresses both class and gender discrimination need not originate solely in the workplace, however. Coalitions can be formed between all kinds of citizens groups who want to oppose any form of oppression inherent within capitalism and patriarchy. Such coalitions may strengthen a communication process through which real structural change can emerge[14]. In Canada today, there is a growing potential for social change within the peace movement, which encompasses groups from most positions on the political spectrum, church groups, women's groups, immigrant groups and other minority groups.

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[14]The advantages and disadvantages of working with men in unions are discussed in "Getting Organized" (Fitzgerald et al 1982).

Progressive people within sport could raise the issues of violence within sport and sport as a metaphor for war as part of the process of educating the general public about war and peace.

The public school system is also a point of entry for a coalition of people who want to end both class and gender discrimination within sport. Members of the general public can raise issues of gender discrimination in sport at school board meetings, in public forums on education, and during election time. The same democratic process can be used to point out class discrimination inherent in intercollegiate sports which require that a student spend a great deal of time after school practicing[85]. Working class students are often employed during these times, in order to supplement the family income. By questioning the emphasis on elite male interschool sports, class and gender issues are addressed together. Socialist feminists might suggest to both school teachers and elected officials that more dollars should be devoted to physical recreation and sport for the general student population of all classes and both sexes. Phrasing the protest in terms of elite versus recreational sport does not polarize people in the same way that focussing on the question of gender does.

This same tactic of questioning the emphasis on sport for the few at the expense of the many also has the effect of conjoining class and gender struggles when the target is public facility usage. If oppressed groups question the overuse of public ice time for provincial or national teams, this reveals both class and gender discrimination. Such teams are most commonly composed of middle and upper class males (Gruneau 1976; Eynon et al 1981; Meilleur 1984). Protest need not be phrased in terms of gender, because such terminology often polarizes males of all classes on one side of the issue. Many males and all females are affected when current elitist standards are adhered to by administrators of public sports facilities.

The socialist feminist theoretical outline which has been provided in previous chapters has helped in the formulation of these pragmatic suggestions for future action in order to end

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[85] At the University of Alberta, intercollegiate teams spend a minimum of twelve hours per week at practice. This may rise as high as 25 hours for some athletes. Competition requires that many athletes spend ten or more weekends away from home, in order to compete.

class and gender oppression in sport. It has been suggested that participation in sport can raise women's consciousness of the nonreproductive potentialities of their bodies, and of the possibility of collective action by women; that parenting behaviors, including socialization of children into locomotor activites, play and sport should be shared between women and men; that reformist action should take place within sport to ameliorate working conditions; that violence should be eliminated from professional sport; that state reformist efforts to end discrimination against women in elite amateur sports should continue; and that all oppressed groups must join together to end inequality in sports, and in the rest of social life. As well as suggesting courses of action, socialist feminist theorizing about sport indicates directions for future research.

Sport, Research and Social Change

There is a need for the development of socialist feminist theory in conjunction with empirically based studies. Two broad recommendations are implied in the analysis presented here.

First, the relationship between the home and the workplace must be specified more clearly and historicized if socialist feminist theory is to advance. A strict dichotomization between the home and the workplace (as feminists have pointed out), is clearly untenable, because reproductive labour is usually performed in the home. Yet it is necessary to distinguish between the location which has been ideologically described as 'private', and 'public' workplaces, so that a clear understanding of the similarities, as well as the differences between work which is performed in these locations may be outlined. As well, because of the designation of the home as 'private' terrain, women have suffered oppression such as wife battering within it. It must be clarified that the personal, though considered private, it is political. The *real* differences between the home and the workplace must be specified, and the myths about differences which do not in reality exist, must be dispelled[16].

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[16]Armstrong and Armstrong (1985) in a recent article have questioned the entire work/home dichotomy.

If the work/home separation is more clearly specified, studies of cultural products such as sports will be advanced. As this thesis has shown, much of the reproductive labour which goes on within the home prepares workers for the workplace. Sport can be seen as a link between this home-based, reproductive labour and behavior in the economic sphere. A more detailed explanation of relations between work and home would help scholars to insert the study of sport into an analysis of both spheres of labour, with greater precision. Studies of cultural forms, and socialization which makes use of cultural forms can also assist in the further theorization of the work/home dichotomy, as well as benefit from it.

The study of sport is directly implied by the second broad suggestion with regard to future socialist feminist research. More consideration should be given to the human body. Janet Sayers in her book Biological Politics: Feminist and Anti-feminist Perspectives (1982) has made an excellent beginning in this theoretical direction. Her work could be enhanced by consideration of the relationships between class, gender and the body when used in nonreproductive ways. The effects of gender and class should be considered when studying the body as it expresses itself in such practices as dance and sport. The large question of human limitation because of our corporeal nature, and because of bodily differences should be addressed. This question must be answered with respect to the prevalence of machinery which performs so much work previously done by human beings.

These two general suggestions have more specific ramifications for the study of sport. First, the two suggestions come together in a recommendation that the body, as it is invested with meaning in the 'private' spheres of various classes should be studied. Previous descriptions of the 'feminine image' in sport have stopped at the door to the gym. An insertion more deeply into social life would align the concept of the feminine image in athletics with the image developed in homes of women of different social classes, and with the image of 'working' women. Gender ideology develops over time in response to and together with changes in economic relations which are played out in the home and the workplace. These changes must be studied historically.

The study of history is absolutely imperative for the further development of a socialist feminist analysis of sport and physical activity. Of urgent importance is a thorough search of any documentation and a compilation of oral histories of struggles against class and gender oppression in sport which have been waged by women. The voice of working class women is virtually absent from the record of sports historians. Yet anecdotes and what little data are available imply that working class women were physically active in what leisure time was available to them (See Lenskyj 1983). Biographies of elite women athletes show that some came from the working class. These preliminary indications of a working class women's sporting history must be followed up. More data must be gathered about women's physical activity (or lack of activity) in the past.

Historic contextualization of studies of women and sports helps to increase understanding because contemporary women and men can be compared to those of the past. Another means of comparison is to explore cross cultural differences. Comparisons need to be made between nations in which women are athletes, but also between western nations such as Canada, and eastern and third world nations where women's oppression is quite different. Here anthropological insights would be useful.

There are three important empirical foci for researchers interested in gender and sport in Canada. The analysis of productive labour has shown vast discrepancies between women's and men's professional sport. These discrepancies are related, to a large extent, to media coverage. An indepth study of gender and the economics of professional sport, especially accounting for consumers, is essential. Much of the media coverage of professional sports is predicated upon the (sometimes innaccurate) conception of what consumers want, and on what sort of market the sponsor wishes to reach. Detailed empirical descriptions of such relationships, grounded in a broad theory of productive and reproductive labour, will elucidate some of the reasons for gender inequality in Canadian sport.

Secondly, the organization of leisure education in the schools should be analyzed. Socialist theory tells us that state education systems tend to replicate the dominant ideology,

including the ideology of gender. Studies of gender in sport could be incorporated into the broader literature on the sociology of schools and the sociology of leisure, to show how the sexist agenda apparent in the classroom extends into the school gymnasium as well. Much sexist education goes on through the 'hidden curriculum' rather than through overt teaching[17]. And finally, the third more specific empirical focus should be an indepth examination of gender inequality in programs supported by the state. Of initial importance in this endeavor is the collection of good descriptive data on the numbers of males and females represented at all levels of every state funded program. Currently, it is sometimes difficult to obtain a breakdown by sex of sports participants[18]. Information collected should trace the change in proportion of males and females in each sport over time. It is also important to theoretically situate any data which are obtained. A socialist feminist theory of the state is developing only now, and information about the state as it relates to women and men in amateur sport will be useful in the development of such theory.

Conclusion

A final word on socialist feminist theory, and the practice of socialist feminism itself, remains. The socialist feminist analysis of Canadian sport which has been presented here has referred to a number of important relations which structure gender inequality in Canadian sport. Above all, the separation between the home and the workplace, the commodification of female labour, the social construction of femininity, and the social organization of motherhood have an impact on gender inequality. Suggestions have been provided with regard to ending such inequality. In the final analysis, it is the unequal distribution of power which is at the core of capitalism and patriarchy. Power relations amongst the social classes and between the sexes have been considered in this dissertation. Men and upper class groups have power because of the class and sexual division of labour, and the exploitation and oppression inherent

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[17]See Varpalotai (1985).
[18]The federal government's Fitness and Amateur Sport Annual Report does not give the sex of participants.

in this distribution. In order to create class and gender equality, relations of productive and reproductive labour must be changed. But changing these relations of capitalism and patriarchy does not mean an end to hierarchies of power. This dissertation has not been exhaustive in that it has not considered the relations of power which exist between people on grounds other than class or sex. For instance, race relations have not been referred to at all. Yet unequal power among races is evident within the sports world, too. Age is another social characteristic around which power relations have been structured. Age discrimination will not necessarily be ended through the reorganizations which have been advocated here.

But it must be accepted that the process of social change is ongoing, and that socialist feminist theory cannot provide a complete answer to the unequal distribution of power in capitalist patriarchy. Answers can be found only through continuing, active attempts to resist all forms of oppression, and create change.

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